

# Tonal accents and rhyme in 18th-century Swedish

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In Modern Swedish certain groups of morphemes are systematically involved in word forms that would be expected to get Accent 2 but that surface with Accent 1. Thus, Swedish infinitives usually get Accent 2 (*grip-a* ‘seize’), but in combination with certain prefixes, that were borrowed from Middle Low German, infinitives will always be Accent 1 (*be-grip-a* ‘comprehend’). The dominance and systematic occurrence of Accent 1 suggests viewing it as the lexically specified accent. In this article we are looking for historical facts about these types of words and morphemes to see if we can draw any conclusions concerning lexical accent specification for native vs. non-native morphemes. By investigating the comments on rhymes and accents in the 18th-century poetic manual by Anders Nicander (1707–1781) in combination with his own rhymed verse we can provide information about 18th-century and modern tonal oppositions in Swedish.

**Keywords** lexically specified accent, poetry, rhyme, Swedish, tonal accent

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

In languages with contrastive tone, verse, in particular rhyming verse, can be a challenge. When tone is not an issue, only the segmental material and stress of the word final rhymes have to match, but in languages with lexical tone there is a further aspect to consider and poets make use of it in different ways. Middle Chinese poetry (with four tones) in the Tang dynasty (7th–10th century), for instance, was highly regulated with a rigid poetic style. In the four canonical schemes of heptasyllabic and pentasyllabic lines, pairs of lines ended with alternating tonal patterns, first with an ‘oblique’ tone and then with an ‘even’ tone (Downer & Graham 1963; Chen 1979). Nevertheless, alternating lines did not necessarily match in tone perfectly because only the first tone belonged to the oblique category (considered to have steady state pitch), while all the others (falling and/or rising contours) belonged to the even category (Chen 1979). Thus, in a quatrain, the even lines all end in an oblique tone, but may not have the same tonal melody (i.e. it could be falling or rising). Another

method of tonal use in poetry is discernible in Shona, where downdrift, a phonological device of tonal steps, is significantly exploited. A line in modern Shona poetry offers a stretch, typically pronounced as one breath group which is characterized by downdrift (Chimundu 1989).

Within the Scandinavian family, certain Norwegian and Swedish dialects have a phonemic contrast in tone, labelled Accent 1 and Accent 2. While examining the role of Norwegian tonal accents in poetry (trochaic tetrameters in Ibsen's *Peter Gynt* and three other poems by Welhaven, Bjørnson and Hamsun), Jakobson & Sommerfelt (1979) conclude that the poets make noticeable use of the contrast between Accent 1 and 2 in expressing a variety of styles and emotions. For instance, in the hero's playful dialogue with his mother in Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*, the variation of tones in rhyming words sometimes acts like a 'pun-like accompaniment of whimsical motifs' (Jakobson & Sommerfelt 1979:181), e.g. '*morgen*<sub>2</sub> ~ '*sorgen*<sub>1</sub> 'morning' ~ 'sorrow', '*kjerren*<sub>2</sub> ~ '*merren*<sub>1</sub> 'cart-DEF.SG' ~ 'mare-DEF.SG', '*bukken*<sub>1</sub> ~ '*rukken*<sub>2</sub> 'ram-DEF.SG' ~ 'line-DEF.SG'.<sup>1</sup> When she in turn expresses a 'challenging menace' (Jakobson & Sommerfelt 1979:181) to her son, the accents of the final downbeats are subtly changed. For instance, on the fourth, most offensive line, Ibsen uses only Accent-2 words, thus ending with an Accent-2 downbeat (4th line *fakter*<sub>2</sub> 'gestures'), while the surrounding lines always end in Accent-1 downbeats (1st line *på*<sub>1</sub> 'to', 2nd line *få*<sub>1</sub> 'receive', 3rd line *akter*<sub>1</sub> 'stern', 5th line *grant*<sub>1</sub> 'plainly'). Again, the tonal contrast is used to increase the emotional expressiveness.

Noticeably however, although Modern Swedish does have tonal contrast, matching tonal accents in verse has never been established as a general rule. Well known Swedish poets like Carl Michael Bellman or Hjalmar Gullberg ignore accents for the purposes of matching rhymes – cf. '*vänner*<sub>2</sub> 'friend-PL' ~ '*känner*<sub>1</sub> 'feel-PRES'; '*Tristan*<sub>1</sub> (proper name) ~ '*listan*<sub>2</sub> 'list=DEF.SG'.<sup>2</sup> Even seventeenth-century poetic scholars like Arvidi mention the words 'tone' and 'accent' while discussing poetic principles, but these terms relate only to quantity or stress (cf. Kock 1878, Frankel 1999 and references therein). For instance, in his rhyming dictionary, Arvidi (1651) has no qualms about grouping together words with different accents as in '*handel*<sub>1</sub> 'commerce.SG' ~ '*mandel*<sub>2</sub> 'almond.SG' or '*alen*<sub>1</sub> 'alder=DEF.SG' ~ '*galen*<sub>2</sub> 'mad<sub>ADJ</sub>'. Kornhall (1994) examines the accent patterns in rhymed verse composed by two 20th-century Swedish poets, Bertil Malmberg and Erik Axel Karlfeldt. Kornhall suggests that although these poets appear to unconsciously use the accents to form certain accent patterns, they do not systematically match the accents of rhyming pairs.

One figure in 18th-century Swedish literature, however, did pay attention to tonal contrasts in poetry. Anders Nicander (1707–1781), although a rather inconspicuous figure in Swedish literature, is of crucial importance for the study of Swedish tone. He was one of very few people who had the instinct of an orthoepist while composing poetry himself. Even though verse is often taken as evidence for metrical stress,<sup>3</sup> Nicander's poetry has the added advantage that we know that his rhymes were written

with an awareness of prosodic factors other than stress. Furthermore, not only was he conscious that tones ought to be matched in a perfect rhyme, his poetic manual describes in great detail what may or may not be rhymed (Nicander 1737). Kock (1878: 23f.) drew attention to Nicander's observation that words like [ta:løn] and [ga:løn] are not acceptable rhymes because their accents differ, in spite of obvious segmental overlap. These words reflect the basic surface tonal contrast between a monomorphemic disyllabic word (*galen*<sub>2</sub> 'mad') and a monosyllabic stem plus the definite plural ending (*tal=en*<sub>1</sub> 'number=DEF.PL') in modern Standard Swedish.<sup>4</sup>

In this paper, we analyze Nicander's theoretical treatise on verse as well as his poetry, to shed light on the conflict between lexical tone and segmental material in 18th-century Swedish verse, and to ascertain to what extent today's accents have remained unchanged. In what follows, we will present an analysis of Nicander's manual and verse in three sections. Section 2 provides a brief description of contemporary Swedish tonal word accents. In section 3, we discuss Nicander's theory of rhymes and accents, and in section 4, we compare the conclusions we have drawn from Nicander's theoretical remarks to the rhymes in his own verse. We are primarily interested in the following questions: How well established was the tonal opposition in 18th-century Swedish? Did lexical accent in Nicander's Swedish differ from modern Swedish? In particular, did clitics and inflectional suffixes behave differently with respect to accent? An examination of Nicander's verse and theoretical approach to poetry and end-rhymes should provide an insight into the tonal system of 18th-century Swedish, and by comparing this to the modern Standard Swedish system, we could then draw conclusions concerning how the tonal system has changed in the last three centuries.

## 2. ACCENT ASSIGNMENT IN MODERN SWEDISH

Like all Scandinavian dialects with a phonemic tonal contrast, Standard Swedish differentiates between Accent-1 and Accent-2 words. We briefly sketch a few morphophonological approaches relevant to analysing Nicander's poetry. Until recently, Accent 2 was generally assumed to be the lexically specified accent (cf. Gussenhoven & Bruce 1999, Riad 2003 and references therein; also Kristoffersen 2000 for Norwegian). According to Gussenhoven & Bruce (1999), the accent contrasts arise from the differences in tonal alignment, where Accent 2 is H\*L with a lexical high tone aligned to the stressed syllable, and Accent 1 is HL\* with the lexical low tone aligned to the stressed syllable. In this approach, morphemes can either be Accent-2 inducing or neutral. A privative view of the accent contrast was first advocated in Elert (1963), claiming that Accent 2 is the lexical tone while Accent 1 is the default. This approach has been maintained in Riad (2003), where stems and morphemes can bear lexical Accent 2, marked with a floating H.

Accepting the view of a privative contrast, Lahiri, Wetterlin & Jönsson-Steiner (2005a), nevertheless claim that Accent 1 is the lexically specified accent, and Accent 2 is assigned by default to all polysyllabic words lacking lexical accent specification and contain at least a disyllabic trochee. Accent 1 can be lexically specified on prefixes (*be-*, *för-*, *ent-*), suffixes (*-era*, *-ell*, *-ant*, etc.) or stems (*'fänrik* 'ensign', *'taxi* 'taxi', *'fredag* 'Friday', *'januari* 'January', etc.). The presence of lexically specified accent blocks the postlexical default rule, and thus Accent 1 dominates. Elsewhere, all words that do not contain a disyllabic trochee – polysyllabic or monosyllabic – surface with Accent 1.

Lahiri et al. (2005a) further draw attention to the fact that Scandinavian tonal dialects (Norwegian as well as Swedish) show different phonetic realizations of the two contrasting accents. Consequently, they do not represent lexical accent with a particular tone, but instead morphemes bearing lexical Accent 1 are assigned an abstract diacritic [<sup>x</sup>]. The diacritic indicates that a morpheme (word or affix) is a carrier of lexical Accent 1 and is tonally interpreted on a dialect-specific basis. In this way, the precise phonetic correlate of the lexically specified Accent 1 is left open such that the lexical tone can be manifested by a high or low tone depending on the dialect (e.g. L\* in Central Swedish but H\* in Southern Swedish). Accent 2, the unmarked tone, also has its own dialect-specific phonetic manifestation.

An advantage of the approach taken by Lahiri et al. (2005a) is that it phonologically deals with cases like the prefixes *be-*, *för-*, *ent-* without having to resort to exceptional or additional rules.<sup>5</sup> In earlier approaches, a word like *'falla*<sub>2</sub> 'to fall' is assigned Accent 2 because of the infinitive *-a* which is assumed to carry the accent. The problem then is to explain why a form like *be'falla*<sub>1</sub> that also contains the same infinitive *-a* has Accent 1. One solution in privative terms is to assume that the prefix triggers a process of DEACCENTING (Riad 1998: *fall*-a<sub>2</sub> > *'falla*<sub>2</sub>; *be-fall*-a<sub>2</sub> > deaccenting > *be'falla*<sub>1</sub>).<sup>6</sup> Similarly, Bruce & Hermans (1999) propose a context where, despite the Accent-2 inducing infinitive suffix, words that have 'a pre-head before the left-headed foot' (Bruce & Hermans 1999:613) will usually be assigned Accent 1 (with the exception of a subcategory of nouns). In contrast, Lahiri et al. (2005a) do not assign lexical accent to the infinitive *-a*; rather, non-prefixed infinitive forms like *'falla*<sub>2</sub> get Accent 2 by default since the word contains a disyllabic trochee and no lexical specification. The prefix *be*<sup>x</sup>, however, is lexically specified for Accent 1 which blocks the default Accent 2 from applying to infinitives with this prefix: *bě-fall*-a. Accent 1 from the prefix is assigned to the entire word and *běfalla*<sub>1</sub> is thus Accent 1.

The tables in (1)–(3) show how accent assignment in Swedish works within this framework. Here we list suffixes (INFLECTIONAL endings, separated by a hyphen), clitics (DEFINITE endings, separated by an equals sign) and stressed and unstressed prefixes chosen specifically to relate to Nicander's work.

(1) Accent assignment with syllabic suffixes vs. clitics<sup>7</sup>

Lexical representation	Stress & accent assignment	Cliticization/epenthesis	Surface representation	Gloss
a. /drift/	'drift <sub>1</sub>	'drift <sub>1</sub> =n	[ˈdriʔtən] <sub>1</sub>	<i>urge</i> .SG=DEF.SG
/drift//er/	'drifter <sub>2</sub>	'drifter <sub>2</sub> =na	[ˈdriʔtən̩a] <sub>2</sub>	<i>urge</i> -PL=DEF.PL
b. /hedr/	'hedr <sub>1</sub>	'heder <sub>1</sub> =n	[ˈhɛ:dən̩] <sub>1</sub>	<i>honor</i> .SG=DEF.SG
/hedr//ar/	'hedrar <sub>2</sub>	'hedrar <sub>2</sub> =na	[ˈhɛ:drən̩a] <sub>2</sub>	<i>honor</i> -PL=DEF.PL
c. /be <sup>z</sup> //drift/	be'drift <sub>1</sub>	be'drift <sub>1</sub> =n	[beˈdriʔtən] <sub>1</sub>	<i>achievement</i> .SG=DEF.SG
/be <sup>z</sup> //drift//er/	be'drifter <sub>1</sub>	be'drifter <sub>1</sub> =na	[beˈdriʔtən̩a] <sub>1</sub>	<i>achievement</i> -PL=DEF.PL

The examples in (1) show that accent assignment works differently with the definite endings as compared to regular plural suffixes. We follow the standard assumption that accent assignment remains unaffected by the addition of the definite endings (SINGULAR=*en/n*<sub>COMMON</sub> =*et/t*<sub>NEUTER</sub>; PLURAL=*en/na/a*) in Swedish (cf. Riad 1998:65). Lahiri, Wetterlin & Jönsson-Steiner (2005b) argue that this difference is due to the fact that the definite endings in Swedish and Norwegian phonologically behave like clitics which are added after accent assignment. Thus, the SG.DEF forms in (1) are Accent 1 despite the fact that they form disyllabic trochees. The plural endings, on the other hand, form part of the accent-assignment domain and the plural forms get Accent 2 in (1a, b). The addition of the definite plural clitic has no effect on the accent of the word (cf. columns 2 and 3 in (1)). The specified {*be<sup>z</sup>*} prefix, however, induces Accent 1 on the form it attaches to even in the plural; cf. (1c).

In (2) we see that both stems and grammatical morphemes can carry lexical tone and that lexically specified accent always dominates.

## (2) Accent assignment with lexically specified words and affixes

Lexical representation	Stress & accent assignment	Cliticization	Surface representation	Gloss
a. /fänrik/	'fänrik <sub>1</sub>	'fänrik <sub>1</sub> =en	[ˈfɛnrɪk] <sub>1</sub>	<i>ensign</i> .SG=DEF.SG
/fänrik//ar/	'fänrikar <sub>1</sub>	'fänrikar <sub>1</sub> =na	[ˈfɛnrɪkən̩a] <sub>1</sub>	<i>ensign</i> -PL=DEF.PL
b. /pöet/	po'et <sub>1</sub>	po'et <sub>1</sub> =en	[pøˈɛ:tən] <sub>1</sub>	<i>poet</i> .SG=DEF.SG
/pöet//er/	po'eter <sub>1</sub>	po'eter <sub>1</sub> =na	[pøˈɛ:tən̩a] <sub>1</sub>	<i>poet</i> -PL=DEF.PL
c. /ena//a/	'ena <sub>2</sub>		[ˈɛ:na] <sub>2</sub>	<i>unite/unify</i> .INF
d. /fö <sup>z</sup> //ena//a/	för'ena <sub>1</sub>		[fœr'ɛ:na] <sub>1</sub>	<i>unite/join</i> .INF
e. /fall//a/	'falla <sub>2</sub>		[ˈfal:a] <sub>2</sub>	<i>fall</i> -INF
f. /be <sup>z</sup> //fall//a/	be'falla <sub>1</sub>		[bøˈfal:a] <sub>1</sub>	<i>command</i> -INF

In (2a, b), the disyllabic words are lexically specified for Accent 1. Despite the fact that 'fänrik<sub>1</sub> contains a disyllabic trochee it is Accent 1 since the lexical specification blocks the application of default Accent 2. Lexical specification dominates no matter what is added to the stem. The noun 'fänrik<sub>1</sub> remains Accent 1 with the plural suffix

(*fänrikar*<sub>1</sub>) or clitic (*fänriken*<sub>1</sub>, *fänrikarna*<sub>1</sub>). The same is true for *po'et*<sub>1</sub> in (2b) which remains Accent 1 in all suffixed and cliticized forms, even though the plural forms provide the prosodic environment where Accent 2 could potentially apply if there were no lexical specification intervening (*po'eter*<sub>1</sub>, *po'eterna*<sub>1</sub>). The examples in (2c–f) demonstrate that the addition of a lexically specified prefix dominates and overrides any other accent. The infinitive forms in (2c, e) get Accent 2 as the default because they are not lexically specified and contain a disyllabic trochee. However, when lexically specified prefixes like /be<sup>x</sup>/ or /för<sup>x</sup>/ are involved as in (2d, f), the lexical accent overrides the accent of the stems and the prefixed forms receive Accent 1.

The examples in (3) show that words with stressed prefixes, as in (3a) – as opposed to words with unstressed prefixes – are always assigned Accent 2 in Standard Swedish following the same pattern as compounds, cf. (3b), which are Accent 2 irrespective of accent specification of individual words, cf. (3c).

### (3) Stressed prefixes and compounds

	Lexical representation	Stress & accent assignment	Cliticization	Surface representation
a.	/an-//fall//a/	<b>'anfalla</b> <sub>2</sub>	[ʼan,fa:l:a] <sub>2</sub>	<i>attack-INF</i>
b.	/ville//bråd/	<b>'villebråd</b> <sub>2</sub>	[ʼvillə,brø:d] <sub>2</sub>	<i>game.SG</i>
c.	/tërmos//flaska/	<b>'termosflaska</b> <sub>2</sub>	[ʼtærməs,flaska] <sub>2</sub>	<i>thermos flask.SG</i>

Thus, the lexically specified word *tërmos*<sub>1</sub> gets Accent 1 in the singular and in the plural, but the compound *tërmosflaska*<sub>2</sub> in (3c) gets Accent 2 despite the lexical specification of the first member.<sup>8</sup>

As we have seen so far, certain stems and grammatical morphemes play a dominant role in accent assignment when they are specified for Accent 1. Furthermore, the definite endings behave like clitics, i.e. they are invisible to accent assignment. Did these morphemes have the same tonal properties about two-and-a-half centuries ago? Dialectal differences have given rise to speculations regarding accent change. For instance, Riad (1998:84, fn. 23) suggests that words with unstressed prefixes like *be-* could have had Accent 2 at an earlier period as in the present-day Älvdalen dialect instead of Accent 1 of Standard Swedish. Kock (1878:80–86) points to reports suggesting that Accent 2 on words with unstressed prefixes also occurred in 19th-century Stockholm Swedish. However, Kock suggests that the earliest *be-*words had Accent 1, and that Accent 2 in these forms appeared later. He provides evidence from earlier authors that other dialects (Östergötland, Västergötland, Göteborg) had Accent 1 during the same time. Further, Kock also refers to the 1836 grammar from Svenska Akademien which has Accent 1 for *be-*words. Thus, Kock assumes a temporary change in Stockholm Swedish through the influence of Accent 2 in the simplex words, which have again reverted back to Accent 1 later.

As a rule of thumb, we will follow Riad's assumption that unless there is clear evidence to the contrary, if all Swedish dialects have the same accent on a particular morpheme, this was also the case in the 18th century. Dialectal differences warn us that some change has taken place. To determine which dialect represents the earlier stage, however, is a matter of conjecture unless we have further evidence. This is what we hope to discover from Nicander. For instance, based on evidence from Nicander, we will argue that Accent 2 on *be*-words in the Älvdalen dialect is an innovation. In the next section, we take a closer look at Nicander's poetic manual and examine his sometimes cryptic statements in search of information on the prosodic properties of accents and of lexically specified morphemes during his time. We then turn to Nicander's own poetry in section 4 to investigate what sorts of words he himself considered to be proper end-rhymes.

### 3. NICANDER'S POETIC MANUAL AND TONE

Nicander came from southern Sweden. He was born in Småland, moved to Blekinge at the age of two, attended school in Helsingborg and then went to the University of Lund. From the age of twenty-one he lived in areas where the dialects had standard Swedish accent distribution (Stockholm and Västervik). At school and later at university, Nicander is reported to have been an outstanding student with a profound knowledge of classical philology and exceptional poetic talent (Hanselli 1874). He was fluent in several languages including Latin, German and French. After he left university, Nicander held different public positions, which allowed him to continue his poetic work. Besides composing his own poetry, Nicander also translated poetic works from other languages. At the age of 30, he wrote a poetic manual *Oförgräpelige anmerckningar öfwer swenska skaldekonsten* (1737), in which he instructs readers how to write poetry in Swedish modelled on Latinate poetic rules. In the introduction, Nicander states that he aims to show that Swedish is well suited for composing verse following the rules of Latin poetry.<sup>9</sup> The manual consists of thirteen chapters of which only chapters I and XII are significant for our purposes. The first chapter deals with syllable quantity and outlines the basics of how Swedish words ought to be dealt with in verse. Nicander explains how quantity rules for Latin verse should be applied to Swedish verse in conjunction with regular Swedish pronunciation, with instructions on how syllables should be placed in long or short position. Chapter XII deals with end-rhymes in Swedish verse, and here we find crucial evidence for the accent system of 18th-century Swedish. All other chapters instruct the reader on verse types and do not provide any information about the spoken language.<sup>10</sup> In addition to the printed manual, we have also found a handwritten version of the manual (in Nicander 1793), which is incomplete and mainly concentrates on quantity in terms of stress and strong/weak position in heroic verse. It is only in the printed manual that Nicander

provides the effects of accent on verse and makes more general claims about different kinds of verse including rhymed verse. We will therefore mainly consider the printed manual here but we also refer to the hand-written version wherever necessary.

In section 3.1, we discuss the crucial terminology from the first chapter of the poetic manual, which provides the basic principles for understanding Nicander's rules for verse. We then turn to chapter XII of the manual in section 3.2, which deals with properties of end-rhymes, and proves to be the most crucial part with respect to tonal accents.

### **3.1 Latin verse rules and quantity applied to 18th-century Swedish**

A fundamental principle of Nicander's verse practice was to assume that stressed syllables in natural language should be in strong position in verse. With this principle as background, the first chapter of Nicander's poetic manual provides us with a set of terms describing various categories of syllables. Our goal is to understand these statements and terms so that we can interpret his rules for end-rhymes.

Nicander's rules about stress, quantity and position in verse include four critical terms. Based on his manual and the examples he provides we can interpret these as follows.

#### (4) Interpretation of the terms LÅNG, KORT, BREVIS, COMMUNIS

##### (i) LÅNG

Syllables can be LÅNG 'long' either (a) 'by nature' as Nicander puts it (i.e. intrinsically), if they contain a diphthong or a long vowel, or (b) by position, when followed by a consonant cluster. LÅNG syllables can be placed in strong position in verse, which in turn then reflects natural word stress. The actual meaning of the term LÅNG depends on its context. When Nicander asserts that diphthongs are LÅNG in the very first rule, he is referring to length 'by nature' (intrinsic length). Thus, the *aj* sequence in the stressed penultimate syllable of *kaja*<sub>2</sub> 'jackdaw' is LÅNG by nature since Nicander regards this as a diphthong (as it still is in Norwegian today, e.g. 'kaie'). But when Nicander describes the special properties of what he calls 'composite forms', LÅNG seems to imply something further. He explicitly points to certain words with unstressed prefixes – which in modern Swedish bear Accent 1 – as being different because the stressed syllable is LÅNG in contrast to their non-prefixed forms in which they are COMMUNIS, as we will see in Rule I:9 below.

##### (ii) KORT

KORT 'short' depicts syllables in weak position. Syllables can be intrinsically KORT, i.e. have a short vowel (*klaga* 'complain.INF', *hare* 'hare.SG', *be'gripa* 'comprehend-INF', *för'arga* 'annoy.INF'), or they can be made or treated as KORT in order not to be interpreted as stressed if they are unstressed in natural speech

(*'dundrande* > *'dundra'ne*), or if they are words that can be prosodically in weak position (*och* 'and', *har* 'have.PRES', *hon* 'she').

(iii) BREV

The term BREV basically denotes another kind of a KORT syllable, which always corresponds to short unstressed syllables in natural speech, and are thus placed in weak position in verse (*'Goliat, f'ol*). Conversely, KORT syllables as described in (ii) could be heavy in natural speech.

(iv) COMMUNIS

COMMUNIS is a term that does not refer to the natural weight of syllables but to their variable treatment in verse. Syllables that are referred to as COMMUNIS can be treated as LÅNG or KORT, and thus be placed in strong or weak position.

Although at first glance the term COMMUNIS seems straightforward, it has a number of hidden nuances, particularly in conjunction with LÅNG. In Rule 7 of chapter I, Nicander says:

Syllables in compounds should keep the quantity of their simplex form but that does not always happen in Swedish such as *för'fara* has the middle vowel LÅNG but *fa* in *fara* is COMMUNIS. (Rule I:7)<sup>11</sup>

The crucial distinction drawn here is between the infinitive form *fara*<sub>2</sub> in isolation and the complex form (compound in Nicander's terminology) that has an unstressed prefix *för'fara*<sub>1</sub> 'proceed-INF'. Whatever *quantity* (QUANTITATEM) may mean here, Nicander clearly indicates that *fa* has different properties in *'fara* than in *för'fara*. Could these properties be related to length or stress? Not really, since in both words *fa* is stressed and is the penultimate syllable in the word. Our conjecture is that in this rule Nicander is not simply referring to a length distinction but to a contrast in tonal accent, implying that although *'fara*<sub>2</sub> and *för'fara*<sub>1</sub> OUGHT to have the same tonal accent, the prefixed form has Accent 1 while the simplex form has Accent 2. When Nicander genuinely talks about quantity, he uses the term BREVIS. We find more support for our interpretation in Rule I:9.

(5) Rule I:9

All regular past forms have a BREVIS penultimate syllable such as: *spelade*, *elskade*. Exception. Irregulars, such as: *håde* has COMMUNIS penultimate syllable and so does *låde*, but its composite form is LÅNG, such as: *belåde*.<sup>12</sup>

Unlike *för'fara*<sub>1</sub>, both *'spelade*<sub>2</sub> and *'elskade*<sub>2</sub> (past tense forms of *'spela* 'play.INF' and *'elska* 'love.INF') have initial stress and Accent 2 in modern Swedish. Today both verbs have disyllabic roots (*spela*, *elska*), and consequently, the root and the infinitive forms are homophonous, unlike monosyllabic roots like *far*, where infinitive is *'fara*<sub>2</sub>.<sup>13</sup> The penultimate syllables, *la* and *ska*, in both past tense forms are the final unstressed syllables of the roots and these are BREVIS which can NEVER be in strong position. However, as in *'fara* vs. *för'fara*, Nicander draws attention to the COMMUNIS penult of *'lade*<sub>2</sub> 'lay-PAST' as compared to the LÅNG penult in the prefixed form *be'lade*<sub>1</sub> 'cover-PAST'. The difference between the two stressed penultimate syllables

is that one belongs to an Accent 1 word and the other to an Accent 2 word. Again Nicander draws attention to differences between CV syllables, which happen to be BREVEM penults on the one hand (unstressed and presumably short, and cannot be in strong position), as against stressed COMMUNIS versus LÅNG penults on the other hand. Nicander points out that the composite forms *be'lade<sub>1</sub>* and *för'fara<sub>1</sub>* deviate from the simplex counterparts *'lade<sub>2</sub>* and *'fara<sub>2</sub>* although they ought not to. Since neither stress nor quantity nor syllable position (all are stressed and penultimate syllables) can be the cause for this concern, we hypothesize that he was conscious of the tonal accent differences and draws attention to them.<sup>14</sup>

Thus, words with unstressed prefixes are used as examples where their stressed syllables are described as LÅNG in conjunction with a discussion of COMMUNIS and BREVIS. Words like *för'fara<sub>1</sub>* 'be wasted-INF', *be'lade<sub>1</sub>* 'cover-PAST' were always treated as LÅNG by Nicander. These are compared to their non-composite forms (*'fara<sub>2</sub>* 'go-INF', *'lade<sub>2</sub>* 'lay-PAST'), which invariably have Accent 2 in modern Swedish.

We conclude that Nicander was aware of accent differences. In this part of the manual he does not talk about 'good' or 'bad' rhymes, just about types of prosodic categories. Nevertheless it is obvious that when things do not fit, in effect Accent 1 is always involved, as in Rules I:7 and I:9 unstressed Accent-1 prefixed verbs are compared to non-prefixed verbs (*'fara<sub>2</sub>* vs. *för'fara<sub>1</sub>*, *'lade<sub>2</sub>* vs. *be'lade<sub>1</sub>*). However, he draws attention to categories in a rather oblique manner. In the next section we will examine how these types of words fit into end-rhymes when Nicander refers to accent differences more directly.

### 3.2 Nicander's poetic manual and end-rhymes

Chapter XII of Nicander's poetic manual is dedicated entirely to different kinds of Swedish end-rhymes (1737:33–35) where he explicitly differentiates between the two accents. Although most of his definitions concerning rhymes are taken directly from well known Latin poetic notions, we need to discuss them because they directly relate to the issue of accent differences. Out of the five rules in this chapter, only the first four provide us with relevant information about the phonological system of Nicander's Swedish.

#### 3.2.1 Feminine and masculine rhymes

The first of the rules of chapter XII of the manual is presented in (6).

(6) Rule XII:1

Original formulation:	Translation:
Qwinlige Rim bestå af	'Feminine rhymes consist of
twenne Stafwelser. Såsom:	two syllables. Such as:
Sköna, Gröna. Fägnad, Hägnad.	<i>Sköna, Gröna. Fägnad, Hägnad.</i>
Manlige af en lång Stafwelse i ändan.	Masculine of a long syllable in the end.
Såsom: Stor, Gror. Behag, Dag.	Such as: <i>Stor, Gror. Behag, Dag.</i> '

Following traditional metrical systems, Nicander distinguishes two types of end-rhymes, *gwinlige rim* (feminine rhymes) and *manlige rim* (masculine rhymes), where masculine end-rhymes consist of a final syllable that is LÅNG. His examples of masculine rhymes are given in (7).

(7) Nicander's masculine rhymes – LÅNG final syllables

a. 'stor <sub>1</sub> 'big.SG'	b. be'hag <sub>1</sub> 'pleasure.SG'
'gror <sub>1</sub> 'grow-PRES'	'dag <sub>1</sub> 'day.SG'

The examples of masculine rhymes include monosyllabic words and one disyllabic word with an unstressed prefix. These words all have Accent 1 in modern Swedish. They also must have had Accent 1 in the 18th century, since Accent 2 cannot be realized on monosyllabic words or polysyllabic words with final stress where there is no disyllabic trochee available. Nicander describes the final syllables here as LÅNG. One interpretation of LÅNG would be that these syllables are in strong position. Since all the end-rhymes consist of words with final stress, this interpretation is valid. However, as we pointed out in section 3.1, Nicander describes composite words with unstressed prefixes and certain monosyllabic words as LÅNG which all have Accent 1. Thus, the LÅNG last syllable can also be referring to Accent 1. We return to this issue later in section 3.2.2.

Feminine end-rhymes match the two final syllables, the first of which is stressed and in a metrically strong position. Examples of feminine rhymes are given in (8).

(8) Nicander's feminine rhymes

a. 'sköna <sub>2</sub> (skön-a) 'nice-PL'	b. 'fägnad <sub>2</sub> 'joy.SG'
'gröna <sub>2</sub> (grön-a) 'green-PL'	'hägnad <sub>2</sub> 'protection.SG'

The examples that Nicander gives for feminine rhymes under Rule XII:1 are all words that have Accent 2 today. However, the definition of feminine end-rhymes implies that they are disyllabic trochees, which theoretically could also have Accent 1. Indeed, Nicander also has Accent-1 feminine rhymes as we will see under Rule XII:4 in section 3.2.4.

### 3.2.2 Masculine end-rhymes and faithfulness to quantity

The second rule of chapter XII instructs the reader to pay attention to quantity in end-rhymes. The rule is presented in (9).

(9) Rule XII:2

Original formulation:

Uti Rim-Slutet bör man ackta sig,  
at man ei gjør en kort Stafwelse til lång,  
såsom: Fengelse och Galathé  
rima sig intet i slutet.

Ei heller är detta ett riktigt Rim:

Min Frelsare,  
Tin Nåd betee.

Translation:

'In end-rhymes one should be careful,  
not to make a KORT syllable LÅNG,  
such as: *Fengelse* and *Galathé*  
do not rhyme in the end.

Neither is this a proper rhyme:

*Min Frelsare,*  
*Tin Nåd betee.'*

In the context of end-rhymes, Nicander claims that a short syllable may not be ‘lengthened’ for the sake of matching an end-rhyme and provides examples of unacceptable rhymes. Below we add the stress and the accent of these words as they are in modern Swedish. The final rhyme is marked in bold.

(10) Mismatching end-rhymes due to stress and quantity

a. 'fengelse <sub>2</sub> 'prison.SG'	b. 'frelsare <sub>2</sub> 'saviour.SG'
gala'thé <sub>1</sub> proper name	be'tee <sub>1</sub> 'behave.INF'

For Nicander, the short final syllables in *fengelse* and *frelsare* cannot be rhymed with the LÅNG final syllables in *galathé* or *betee*. This statement suggests that these words were stressed as they are today: short unstressed *-e* in *fengelse* and *frelsare* may not occur in strong position and thus cannot rhyme with a LÅNG syllable like the long stressed final *-e* in *galathé* or *betee*. Note that this rule also subsumes the fact that masculine rhymes (LÅNG final stressed syllables, cf. section 3.2.1 below) cannot be paired with non-masculine rhymes. Not only are they bad rhymes, but the rhymes may not be rectified by changing a final syllable which is LÅNG in spoken language to a KORT final syllable in verse; stressed long vowels cannot be shortened nor can the unstressed ones be stressed and lengthened.

There is a further point to be made about stress in Swedish. Nicander wanted Swedish to follow the Latin stress rule, viz. heavy penults are stressed, otherwise stress falls on the antepenult. When certain words violated this pattern, for example, '*dundrande* (the heavy penult was not stressed), he resorted to syncope or metathesis to change the LÅNG syllable into a short one ending up with '*dundra'ne* so that the naturally stressed antepenult could be put into strong position in verse. The fact that Nicander insists on maintaining the faithfulness of quantity and stress in these end-rhymes tells us that he was conscious of them in the contemporary language.

### 3.2.3 Feminine end-rhymes: coinciding final V or VC

Rule 3 of chapter XII, as presented in (11), instructs the reader to match final segments in feminine end-rhymes.

(11) Rule XII:3

Original formulation:

*De Qwinlige Rimen böra hafwa*

1. *Lika Bokstäfwer i ändan*

*såsom fägnad och hägnad*

*rima sig öfvermåttan wäl; men*

*fägnat kan intet rima sig emot hägnad:*

*Mycket mindre fängslad med ängslan.*

2. *Lika Vocaler för Slut-Consonanten*

*såsom: Drängar och sängar.*

*En wågor och sågar,*

*eller dåger och Mågar*

*kunna intet anses för Rim.*

Translation:

'The feminine rhymes should have

1. Same letters in the end,

thus *fägnad* and *hägnad*

rhyme very well; but

*fägnat* cannot be rhymed with *hägnad*:

Even less so *fängslad* with *ängslan*.

2. Same vowels before final consonant,

such as: *Drängar* and *sängar*.

But *wågor* and *sågar*,

or *dåger* and *Mågar*

cannot be considered as rhymes.'

Matching final segments in end-rhymes is a basic rule in rhyming systems universally. Here, Nicander’s examples show that he was aware of subtle pronunciation differences.

(12) Matching and mismatching final segments in feminine rhymes

Matching rhymes	Mismatching rhymes
a. 'fägnad <sub>2</sub> 'joy.SG' 'hägnad <sub>2</sub> 'protection.SG'	b. 'fägnat <sub>2</sub> (fägna-t) 'rejoice.PERF' 'hägnad <sub>2</sub> (hägna-d) 'protect.SG'
	c. 'fängslad <sub>2</sub> (fängsla-d) 'imprison-PART. SG' 'ängslan <sub>2</sub> 'worry.SG'
d. 'drängar <sub>2</sub> (dräng-ar) 'farm hand-PL' 'sängar <sub>2</sub> (säng-ar) 'bed-PL'	e. 'wågor <sub>2</sub> (wåg-or) 'wave-PL' 'sågar <sub>2</sub> (såg-ar) 'saw-PL'
	f. 'dåger <sub>2</sub> (PL) (gloss unknown) 'mågar <sub>2</sub> (måg-ar) 'son-in-law-PL'

The words in (12a) are perfectly acceptable matches in feminine rhymes. However, the pairs in (12b, c) cannot rhyme since they have different final consonants. Nicander’s insistence that final segments must match suggests that final <d> and <t> differed in pronunciation. Thus, like modern Swedish, Nicander’s Swedish clearly did not devoice final consonants, even though Swedish was in close contact with Low German – a language with final devoicing – and borrowed from it extensively. The same argument holds for the final vowel: the word pair in (12d) is a matching rhyme, whereas (12e, f) do not match since the vowels in the final syllables differ. Thus, the vowels [e], [o] and [a] in the final syllables of these rhymes must have been distinct in quality as is still the case in modern Standard Swedish, whereas other Scandinavian languages like Standard East Norwegian have neutralized the vowel distinction.<sup>15</sup> Thus, we can conclude that final segments listed here maintained the same contrasts then as they do now.

**3.2.4 Matching accent in (feminine) end-rhymes**

Now we come to Nicander’s most explicit statement concerning the difference in tonal accent between clitics and inflectional suffixes.

(13) Rule XII:4

Original formulation:  
 Uti Swenskan finnas många Ord,  
 som wäl hafwa de i föregående Reg. 3  
 erfordrade egenskaper; men tyckas dock,  
 i anseende til deras olika Accent,  
 ei kunna passera för Rim. Såsom:  
 Han ei sumera kan ihop

de minstan talen

Translation:  
 There are many words in Swedish  
 that do have the required properties of Rule 3  
 above; but still do not seem,  
 in view of their different ACCENTS,  
 to be acceptable rhymes. Such as:  
 he not summarize can together  
 “He cannot sum up”  
 the smallest numbers  
 “the smallest numbers”

Ty han är yhr och galen.	for he is flurried and mad “For he is flurried and mad”
Hwi grymten I och grinen	how grunt-PRES.PL you and whine-PRES.PL “How you grunt and whine”
Som Swinen.	like swine-PL=DEF “Like the swine”
Hwad äret åt I gråten?	what is it at you cry-PRES.PL “What are you crying for?”
För det I mistat plåten.	for that you lost plate=DEF.SG “Because you lost the plate.”

This is the most important rule from our perspective. Nicander asserts here that there are words which fulfill the criteria of Rule XII:3 above (which says that the final syllables of feminine rhymes should be segmentally overlapping) but nevertheless they are still not proper rhymes since they do not have the same ACCENT in his speech.<sup>16</sup> Examples of non-rhyming pairs due to conflicting accents are listed in (14). In the second column, we indicate the morphological decomposition, with suffixes separated by a hyphen and clitics with an equal sign, as in the table in (1) above.

(14) Non-rhyming pairs according to Nicander

a.	'talen <sub>1</sub>	(tal=en)	'number=DEF.PL'
	'galen <sub>2</sub>	(galen)	'mad'
b.	'swinen <sub>1</sub>	(svin=en)	'swine=DEF.PL'
	'grinen <sub>2</sub>	(grin=en)	'whine-PRES.PL'
c.	'plåten <sub>1</sub>	(plåt=en)	'tinplate=DEF.SG'
	'gråten <sub>2</sub>	(gråt=en)	'cry-PRES.PL'

What does Nicander mean by ACCENT? We discuss each example in turn. The subscript numbers indicate the accent of the word in modern Swedish. If the accents were the same for Nicander as they are now, it is quite obvious that the non-matching property of these rhymes can only be due to differences in accent since, aside from the differing word onsets, the final segments of each pair are identical. However, can we be certain that the tonal accents for each pair also differed for Nicander, just as they do today?

In the first pair, *galen*<sup>17</sup> is a monomorphemic disyllabic word with initial stress and there is no reason to expect any tonal change in the last two centuries. The word *talen* could potentially have been the verb *tala* + PRESENT-PLURAL, but from the context it is quite clear that it refers to the noun *tal* ‘number’ in the definite plural. Since the definite plural clitic does not form an accent domain of its own today (cf. examples in (1) and (2) above) and never did (cf. Elstad 1983), the mismatching characteristic of this pair must have been due to the tone – Accent 1 *talen*<sub>1</sub>, Accent 2 *galen*<sub>2</sub>. In pairs (14b) and (14c), Nicander distinguishes between nouns with definite clitic endings and verbs that have the present plural suffix. Modern Swedish lacks

this suffix. However, had it remained, *'grinen*<sub>1</sub> (*grin=DEF.PL*) ‘grin’ would also form a minimal pair with the verb *'grinen*<sub>2</sub> (*grina-PRES.PL*) ‘whine’. Again, from the context, it is obvious that Nicander is referring to the verbal present plural form and not the nominal form. Thus, the non-rhyming nature of these pairs must be due to the differences in tonal accent. Similar to modern Swedish, Nicander makes a distinction between monosyllabic Accent-1 words with a definite singular (common) or plural (neuter) clitic =*en* (*tal=en*, *swin=en*) and monomorphemic disyllabic words (*galen*) or monosyllables with a present plural suffix *-en* (*grin-en*, *gråt-en*) that have Accent 2 (cf. the tables in (1)–(3)). Obviously, complex disyllabic words where the endings contribute to a tonal difference do not qualify as matching rhymes for Nicander.

Could ACCENT refer to anything other than differing tonal accent in this rule? We do not think so. Rule XII:4 refers directly to the previous rule, which discusses feminine rhymes constituting polysyllabic words with non-final stress. Consequently, the rule only refers to feminine rhymes that consist of disyllabic trochees and do not have a final LÅNG syllable that masculine rhymes have (cf. Rule XII:1). This rule and the examples in (14) confirm our interpretation of Rule XII:1 above that feminine rhymes can be either Accent 1 or Accent 2. Comparing the examples in (12), where Nicander’s mismatching rhymes point to segmental deviations, with the mismatching rhymes in (14), where there are no segmental differences, it is obvious that Nicander was sensitive to the tonal distinction between these word pairs. He clearly considered that both tonal incompatibilities as well as segmental differences contribute to non-matching rhymes.

### 3.3 Summary

The aim of this section has been to correctly interpret what Nicander’s poetic manual tells us about the distribution of tonal accents in 18th-century Swedish. In section 3.1 we deduced that while discussing different categories of syllables, Nicander distinguishes unstressed prefixed Accent-1 verbs from their underived Accent-2 counterparts. In section 3.2, we concluded that proper end-rhymes in Nicander’s verse must match in segments, stress AND tonal accents. We deduced that masculine rhymes, which are described as having a final LÅNG syllable, could only have had Accent 1. Feminine rhymes that have two final syllables without a final LÅNG syllable could be either Accent 1 or Accent 2. Nicander’s claim that feminine rhymes must have matching accents provided the vital piece of evidence confirming that he was aware of tonal accent distinctions. His examples then reinforce our claim that he is referring to a tonal difference in the stressed syllable. The examples also convey the information that there must have been a tonal difference between the monosyllabic roots with a definite clitic (which are Accent 1 today) and disyllabic roots or roots with unmarked syllabic suffixes (which bear Accent 2 in modern

Swedish). Thus, when it comes to end-rhymes, Nicander explicitly points out that there are words that segmentally look the same and have stress on the same syllable but differ in terms of tonal accent and thus do not rhyme (cf. (13) above).

We conclude that Nicander was aware of tonal accents, and furthermore, that – to a great extent – the distribution of the tonal accents must have been the same in 18th-century Swedish as it is today in modern Swedish. We now turn to end-rhymes of Nicander’s own poetry.

#### 4. NICANDER’S OWN VERSE

End-rhymes should match in accent, if they are to be considered ‘proper’ rhymes – this is Nicander’s central claim about suffixed, cliticized and disyllabic words in chapter XII on end-rhymes. We examined all of Nicander’s printed rhymed verses included in Hanselli’s (1874) collection. Altogether these contained 108 lines, which gave us a total of 56 end-rhymes of varying types and length. In addition, we examined a further selection of Nicander’s handwritten verses found in Nicander (1793). This selection consists of another 31 verses, altogether 271 lines with 134 end-rhymes. All of the rhyming words are listed in the Appendix.

To what extent do Nicander’s own rhymes match in tonal accents – this is our central point of interest. Since famous Swedish poets have ignored accents when composing rhymes for centuries, it would not be astonishing if Nicander did the same even if he holds forth on ‘proper’ rhymes in his manual. A careful examination of his poetry presents a complex picture – some rhymes are matching in accent (i.e. the accents as they are in modern Swedish) and some do not. Could the variability be due to an inability to match accents or because Nicander’s accentual patterns were different? As we will see, it turns out that for Nicander, end-rhymes were the rightmost foot of a word beginning with the stressed nucleus, which is the frame of the feminine or masculine rhymes. Consequently, suffixed or cliticized words could constitute end-rhymes, while only the rhyme of the second word of compounds was critical. The same holds true for prefixed words with stressed or unstressed prefixes where the stem was the crucial constituent, giving rise to apparent accent mismatch. We will conclude that there has been no change in accent pattern from Nicander’s time till the present.

##### 4.1 *Rhymes with simplex and suffixed words*

The majority (74%) of Nicander’s end-rhymes are simplex and suffixed words. Of these, 45% are monosyllabic masculine end-rhymes, as in the examples in (15).

## (15) Monosyllabic end-rhymes

a.	lag <sub>1</sub> 'law.SG' slag <sub>1</sub> 'kind.SG'	b.	gå <sub>1</sub> (gå-r) 'walk-PRES' stå <sub>1</sub> (stå-r) 'stand-PRES'
c.	vil <sub>1</sub> 'want.PRES' till <sub>1</sub> 'to'	d.	mot <sub>1</sub> 'against' bot <sub>1</sub> 'cure.SG'

Of the simplex and suffixed feminine end-rhymes in Nicander's verses, the majority (76%) are monomorphemic or suffixed forms which take Accent 2 in modern Swedish – see (16) below. Since the accent of these words does not differ in modern Swedish dialects, there is no reason to believe that they were any different in the 18th century. For the infinitives, Nicander included what nowadays would be disyllabic roots (with disyllabic imperatives, cf. note 13) as well as monosyllabic roots. Both infinitive forms end in <a>: 'vörda<sub>2</sub> 'respect.INF', modern Swedish imperative 'vörda<sub>2</sub>; 'bära<sub>2</sub> (bär-a) 'carry-INF', modern Swedish imperative 'bär<sub>1</sub>.

## (16) Feminine rhymes – disyllabic inflected and simplex Accent-2 words

a.	'börda <sub>2</sub> 'burden.SG' 'vörda <sub>2</sub> 'respect.INF'	b.	'bära <sub>2</sub> (bär-a) 'carry-INF' 'ära <sub>2</sub> 'honor.INF'
c.	'knutit <sub>2</sub> (knut-it) 'tie-PERF' 'slutit <sub>2</sub> (slut-it) 'close-PERF'	d.	'fägnad <sub>2</sub> 'joy.SG' 'hägnad <sub>2</sub> 'protection.SG'
e.	'hunnit <sub>2</sub> (hunn-it) 'reach-PERF' 'funnit <sub>2</sub> (funn-it) 'find-PERF'	f.	'grönskar <sub>2</sub> (grönska-r) 'become green-PRES' 'önskar <sub>2</sub> (önska-r) 'wish-PRES'

Only 24% of Nicander's feminine rhymes correspond to Accent-1 words in Standard Swedish, simplex as well as inflected and cliticized forms. Some examples are given in (17).

 (17) Feminine rhymes: disyllabic inflected, cliticized and simplex Accent-1 words<sup>18</sup>

a.	'gläder <sub>1</sub> (gläd-er) 'please-PRES' 'fäder <sub>1</sub> (fader-) 'father.PL'	b.	'dygden <sub>1</sub> (dygd=en) 'virtue=DEF.SG' 'bygden <sub>1</sub> (bygd=en) 'district=DEF.SG'
c.	'kläder <sub>1</sub> 'clothes.PL' 'fläder <sub>1</sub> 'elder.SG'	d.	'föder <sub>1</sub> (föd-er) 'bear-PRES' 'öder <sub>1</sub> (öd-er) 'waste-PRES'

In (16) and (17), we see that Nicander matched both the final segments and the accents of the words in a rhyme, but that grammatical categories were not necessarily matched as long as segments and accents match. The rhymes in (16a) and (17a, c) are segmentally overlapping but are morphologically different. The pair in (16a), *börda<sub>2</sub>*, *vörda<sub>2</sub>*, are disyllabic stems, where the first is a noun and the second a verb. The word pairs in (17a, c) are segmentally overlapping, but the suffixes do not belong to the same grammatical category. Even so, they have matching accents, at least in

modern Swedish, viz. Accent 1, since the present tense form *gläder* is underlyingly monosyllabic and the plural form *fäder* takes Accent 1, which is generally the case for unlauded plurals. In (17c), the word *kläder*, which in modern Swedish only exists in the plural, rhymes with *fläder*, both of which have underlying monosyllabic stems and are Accent 1. In Rule XII:4 Nicander cautions the reader against rhyming definite singular and plural forms with present plural forms of verbs (which are obsolete in modern Swedish), and we find that he adheres to his warning in his own rhymes. These forms can often be segmentally overlapping but they have different accents. Hence, in the feminine rhymes, Nicander never rhymes forms containing the definite clitic with the present plural or even the nominal indefinite plural, which normally bears Accent 2 in modern Swedish. Accordingly, in (17b) Nicander rhymes the definite singular forms of two monosyllabic words. Recall that in Rule XII:4, he specifically draws our attention to the accent difference in such instances.

Thus, with monomorphemic or suffixed, or cliticized words, Nicander's rhymes combine and match accents of entire words. He always matches accents even if he uses varying grammatical categories in his rhyme pairs: indefinite singular/infinite (*börda<sub>2</sub> ~ vörda<sub>2</sub>*), present ~ indefinite plural (*gläder<sub>1</sub> ~ fläder<sub>1</sub>*), indefinite plural ~ indefinite singular (*kläder<sub>1</sub> ~ fläder<sub>1</sub>*), etc. In none of the examples does he pair words of different grammatical categories (definite singular ~ present plural, etc.) where the accents do not match.

Up to now, all suffixed words were inflected forms that essentially consisted of one foot. However, there are also rhymes where Nicander uses words with derivational suffixes, which consist of more than one foot. These words with multiple feet show us a more complex pattern of end-rhymes and accents. In (18), complex words derived with the suffix {-*het*} are rhymed with simplex and inflectionally suffixed words.

(18) Rhyme with derivational suffixes

a. mättlig <sub>1</sub> het <sub>2</sub> (mätt-lig-het) 'moderation.SG'	b. lyck <sub>1</sub> salig <sub>1</sub> heten <sub>1</sub> (lycksalig-het=en) 'bliss-DEF.SG'
'vet <sub>1</sub>	'veten <sub>2</sub> (vet-en) 'know-PRES.PL'
c. omättlig <sub>1</sub> het <sub>2</sub> (omättlig-het) 'immoderation'	d. po <sub>1</sub> eten <sub>1</sub> (poet=en) 'poet=DEF.SG'
po <sub>1</sub> 'et <sub>1</sub> 'poet.SG'	pro <sub>1</sub> 'pheten <sub>1</sub> (prophet=en) 'prophet=DEF.SG'
	Gudlig <sub>1</sub> heten <sub>2</sub> (Gudlig-het=en) 'divinity=DEF.SG'

The complex words themselves all have Accent 2 in modern Swedish. However, based on the metrical pattern in the rhymes, it is obvious that *lycksaligheten* 'bliss-DEF.SG' has main stress on {*salig*} which exists in varieties of modern Swedish where it has Accent 1. The crucial point is that these rhyming pairs do not match in word accent in Standard Swedish. What Nicander rhymes here is clearly the rightmost foot: (18a) {-*het*} ~ {*vet*}, (18b) {-*heten*} ~ {*veten*}, (18c) {-*het*} ~ {*po'et*}. The second member of these three rhyming pairs are prosodic words with their own accent, but the first member -*het* is a derivational ending. In (18d) there are three rhyming words, {-*heten*} ~ {*po'eten*} ~ {*pro'pheten*}, and again the first member is -*het*. Neither

{-het} nor {-heten} exists as an independent lexical word but each can bear secondary stress. We return to these words for further discussion in section 4.3, after we have contended with similar complex patterns in compounds and prefixed words.

#### 4.2 Rhymes with compounds and prefixed words

As we showed earlier, the majority of Nicander's end-rhymes consist of matched monomorphemic words and inflected words. These consist of one prosodic foot, and the accent of the whole word is matched in rhymes except for words with *-het*. However, in Nicander's verse, 26% of the rhymes also involve compounds and prefixed forms. In (19), monosyllabic words are rhymed with compounds which have a monosyllabic second member. In modern Standard Swedish these compounds are always Accent 2 (with the contour realized on the whole compound, cf. Bruce 1977) with stress on the first syllable and secondary stress on the last syllable, which is also in strong position.

(19) Compounds in rhymes

	Rhyming pair	Rhyme	Gloss	Second member of compound
a.	'nåd <sub>1</sub> 'öfver <sub>1</sub> dåd <sub>2</sub>	åd	'mercy.SG' 'extravagance.SG'	dåd <sub>1</sub> 'deed.SG'
b.	'band <sub>1</sub> 'Götha- <sub>1</sub> land <sub>2</sub>	and	'band.SG' (area between south and central Sweden)	land <sub>1</sub> 'land.SG'
c.	'öfver <sub>1</sub> dåd <sub>2</sub> 'råd <sub>1</sub>	åd	'extravagance.SG' 'advice.SG'	dåd <sub>1</sub> 'deed.SG'
d.	'Tale <sub>1</sub> man <sub>2</sub> 'kan <sub>1</sub>	an	'speaker.SG' 'can.PRES'	man <sub>1</sub> 'man.SG'
e.	'undan <sub>1</sub> tag <sub>2</sub> 'lag <sub>1</sub>	ag	'exception.SG' 'law.SG'	tag <sub>1</sub> 'grip.SG'

In all but four cases in Nicander's rhymes with compounds, the second member is monosyllabic and matches in accent with its monosyllabic rhyming counterpart. Both primary and secondary stressed syllables of the compounds are in strong position in his rhymes. Note, however, that according to the modern Swedish accentual system the accent of the whole compound obviously mismatches with the accent of the monosyllabic rhyming counterparts as in *band<sub>1</sub> ~ Göthaland<sub>2</sub>*.

For prefixed words, Nicander rhymed them with simplex and inflected words and again, we find some accent asymmetries, presented in (20). In the third column, we also give the morphological decomposition of the complex words with the gloss.

## (20) Prefixed words rhymed with simplex and inflected suffixed words

Rhyming pair	Rhyme	Gloss	Base word of prefixed form	
a. 'svår <sub>1</sub> be'står <sub>1</sub>	år	'difficult' (bestå-r) 'persist-PRES'	'står <sub>1</sub>	'stand-PRES'
b. 'har <sub>1</sub> för'svar <sub>1</sub>	ar	'have' 'defense.PRES'	'svar <sub>1</sub>	'answer.SG'
c. 'gifver <sub>1</sub> för'drifver <sub>1</sub>	ifver	(gifv-er) 'give-PRES' (fördrifv-er) 'banish-PRES'	'drifver <sub>1</sub>	'drift-PRES'
d. 'skära <sub>2</sub> för'fära <sub>1</sub>	ära	(skär-a) 'cut-INF' (förfär-a) 'terrify-INF'	'fära <sub>2</sub>	'danger.SG'
e. 'falla <sub>2</sub> 'up,svalla <sub>2</sub>	alla	(fall-a) 'fall-INF' 'run high.INF'	'svalla <sub>2</sub>	'surge.INF'
f. 'neder <sub>1</sub> 'till,beder <sub>2</sub>	eder	'down' (tillbed-er) 'worship-PRES'	'bed(j)er <sub>1</sub>	'pray-PRES'

In these verses, Nicander always rhymes the rightmost foot beginning with the stressed vowel, which happens to be a prosodic word. In (20a, b) monosyllabic words ('svår<sub>1</sub>, 'har<sub>1</sub>) are rhymed with monosyllabic stems preceded by unstressed prefixes (be'står<sub>1</sub>, för'svar<sub>1</sub>). However, in (20c–f), the words are suffixed but in each rhyme only one of the words is prefixed. Again the accents of the prefixed words do not always coincide with the suffixed word that they are rhymed with.

In Nicander's verse, there are also a few instances where two prefixed words are rhymed, as in (21). Here the same rhyming pattern holds – he rhymes the last foot – and stressed prefixes are never in a metrically strong position.

## (21) Rhymed prefixed words

Rhyming pair	Rhyme	Gloss	Base word of prefixed form	
a. 'ut,sträckt <sub>2</sub> 'ut,släckt <sub>2</sub>	äckt	(utsträck-t) 'stretch out-PART' (utsläck-t) 'put out-PART'	'sträckt <sub>1</sub>	'stretch- PART'
b. 'på,kalla <sub>2</sub> be'falla <sub>1</sub>	alla	(påkalla) 'call for.INF' (be-fall-a) 'command-INF'	'kalla <sub>2</sub>	'call.INF'
			'falla <sub>2</sub>	'fall-INF'

Taking into consideration all the different types of end-rhymes, we find that the rightmost foot is central for complex words including compounds. The strong position of the end-rhymes is invariably a foot which heads a (main or secondary) stressed syllable. Once we consider the final foot, then the accent asymmetries disappear. Nevertheless, other possible explanations also need to be considered and we turn to these in the next section.

### 4.3 Nicander's end-rhymes and accent

To match accents in end-rhymes is not a principle that is followed in modern Swedish and has never been generally accepted as necessary in Swedish verse. Nevertheless, Nicander's idea of a perfect end-rhyme was one where not only segments but also accents matched. In his manual, Nicander made explicit reference to accents and end-rhymes only for inflected, simplex and cliticized words. He made no reference to compounds or derived words with derivational prefixes or suffixes. Our inferences concerning accents on prefixed words were based on his description on quantity. Consequently, it is revealing to see what principles of accent matching he uses in his own rhymed verse, where compounds and prefixed words are included.

Following his own principles as laid out in the manual, Nicander's rhymes with simplex or inflected and cliticized words ALWAYS match in tonal accents of modern Swedish: *mot*<sub>1</sub> ~ *bot*<sub>1</sub>, *kläder*<sub>1</sub> ~ *fläder*<sub>1</sub>, *börda*<sub>2</sub> ~ *vörda*<sub>2</sub>, *bygden*<sub>1</sub> ~ *dygden*<sub>1</sub>. And indeed, there are no exceptions to this rule in his own end-rhymes. However, when it comes to derivationally affixed words and compounds, he has a more complex setup, where the accents do not match when we consider the complete word forms, as can be seen in the following rhymes: '*måttlig*, *het*<sub>2</sub> ~ *vet*<sub>1</sub>, *nåd*<sub>1</sub> ~ '*öfver*, *dåd*<sub>2</sub>, *grifter*<sub>2</sub> ~ *be'drifter*<sub>1</sub>, '*Göhta*, *land*<sub>2</sub> ~ *band*<sub>1</sub>. There could be three possible explanations of why he would disregard these tonal patterns: (i) Nicander did not always take care to match accents in his own end-rhymes with compounds and prefixed words, and only matched final segments; (ii) the accents of the mismatching rhymes reflect a different accent pattern in the 18th century; or (iii) Nicander did not consider the tonal structure of the entire word in derivatives, compounds and prefixed words, but matched the tone of the rightmost prosodic foot which could itself be a nonprefixed inflected or uninflected word. We consider each in turn.

(i) Could it be that Nicander ignored accents when his rhymes consisted of derived words and compounds? Nicander's statements concerning what one OUGHT to consider as a good rhyming pair and what one SHOULD NOT use allows us to conclude that he was aware of the distinctive accents and understood quite clearly the need to match accent in rhyming pairs, and it would be unexpectedly inconsistent of him to ignore his own rules when writing rhymed verse himself.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, the majority of Nicander's rhymes consist of simplex and suffixed words (see Appendix) and, as we have seen, they invariably match in accent. Nicander notes the differences where simplex vs. affixed words and compounds are concerned. Recall that the rules cited in section 3.1 above state that derivatives and compounds should keep the accent of the simplex forms (cf. *upvakne* ~ *vakne*), but that this is not always the case. In particular, Nicander points to words prefixed by *be-* and *för-* as being different. For example, the penultimate vowel in *förfara* is LÅNG but the penult in *fara* is COMMUNIS. Thus, he surely would not deliberately ignore the accents for such end-rhymes. The

reason behind the lack of accent matching in rhymes with prefixed words must lie elsewhere.

(ii) Perhaps the fact that the accents, as they are in Standard Swedish now, fail to sometimes match for compounds and affixed words because the accents were different in the 18th century? As was already mentioned at the end of section 2 above, one hypothesis is that the prefixed infinitive forms like *betala*<sub>1</sub> were earlier Accent 2 and later changed to Accent 1, as in modern Standard Swedish (cf. Riad 1998:84, fn.23). This would account for rhyme pairs like *skära*<sub>2</sub> ~ *förfära*<sub>1</sub>, *påkalla*<sub>2</sub> ~ *befalla*<sub>1</sub> by assuming that *förfära* and *befalla* simply bore the accent of the nonprefixed form and thus would have been Accent 2 for Nicander. However, to be able to use these rhymes as evidence in support of such a hypothesis, one would also have to assume that Nicander matched accents of the entire complex words; but then it is difficult to understand why he allowed rhymes with compounds (*band*<sub>1</sub> ~ 'Götha-land<sub>2</sub>, 'undan<sub>1</sub> tag<sub>2</sub> ~ lag<sub>1</sub>), or disyllabic prefixed words (*öfver*<sub>1</sub> dåd<sub>2</sub> ~ råd<sub>1</sub>), and with derivationally suffixed words like 'måttlig<sub>1</sub> het<sub>2</sub> ~ vet<sub>1</sub>. These types of complex words always bear Accent 2 today, and they are rhymed with monosyllabic words, which are and were invariably Accent 1.

An alternative explanation for the mismatching accents in the compounds in (22) could be based on Kock's claim that in the Swedish spoken at the time, it was not uncommon to reverse the stress pattern of compounds (as in some present day dialects of North Swedish). These compounds would then have obligatorily Accent 1. Given this situation, *till*'beder, på'kalla, Götha'land, öfver'dåd would all be Accent 1 and match in accent perfectly with 'neder, be'falla, 'band, 'nåd. If this were true for Nicander, then the accent matching needs no further explanation – he matched Accent-1 words, and this would be compatible with our view that he was sensitive to accent. There are, however, other mismatching rhymes that cannot be explained in this way, for example, 'grifter<sub>2</sub> ~ be'drifter<sub>1</sub>, 'skära<sub>2</sub> ~ förfära<sub>1</sub>. Furthermore, this argument does not favour Riad's claim that words like *befalla*<sub>1</sub> may have been Accent 2 earlier. If rhyming *påkalla* with *befalla* is due to Accent 2 matching (as Riad would have it), Kock's reasoning that *påkalla* had prominence on *kalla*, and must have therefore been Accent 1, does not hold.

In Southern Sweden, there are dialects where certain compounds can bear Accent 1. One could argue that Nicander's early southern Swedish background could have influenced the accents in these mismatching rhymes. However, these particular compounds and words with the prefix *över-* that Nicander uses are Accent 2 in southern Swedish as well. Thus, the mismatching rhymes cannot be a dialectal problem and cannot be explained by assuming that the unstressed prefixed words were Accent 2 in Nicander's time.

(iii) Instead, could it be that where Nicander used more complex word structures which involved more than one prosodic foot he did not consider the entire lexical item for matching accents? Let us go back to the examples of rhymes with derivational

suffixes in (18) above: *'måttlig,het<sub>2</sub> ~ 'vet<sub>1</sub>*, *'lycksalig,heten<sub>2</sub> ~ 'veten<sub>2</sub>*. What is Nicander's system? As we already mentioned at the end of section 4.1 above, words with derivational suffixes consisting of two feet follow a more complex pattern of end-rhymes and accents. According to (18), Nicander takes the last foot in heterosyllabic words with derivational suffixes and rhymes them with a monosyllabic words or inflected words. In (18a) the derivational suffix {-*het*} is a separate foot that takes secondary stress. Nicander treats it as a masculine rhyme and matches it with *vet*. In (18b) the derivational suffix {-*het*} together with the definite clitic {-*heten=en*} also form a separate foot with secondary stress on the penult. It is therefore regarded as a feminine rhyme which he matches with *veten*. Note that although {-*heten*} is not a lexical word, and has no intrinsic accent, Nicander feels free to rhyme an Accent-2 inflected prosodic word with a derivational suffix plus the definite singular clitic: *vet-en ~ -het=en*.

Does the same principle hold of rhyming a monosyllabic or suffixed word with the second element of derivational prefixed words and compounds which bore secondary stress? In (22) and (24) we repeat a few examples from Nicander's verses that involve compounds rhymed with monosyllables, and prefixed words rhymed with simplex or complex words with inflectional suffixes.

(22) End-rhymes involving prefixed words

	Rhyme	Gloss	Second member of compound and base form of prefixed word
a.	'band <sub>1</sub> 'Götha-,land <sub>2</sub>	'band.SG' (area between south and central Sweden)	'land <sub>1</sub> 'land.SG'
b.	'nåd <sub>1</sub> 'öfver,dåd <sub>2</sub>	'mercy.SG' 'extravagance.SG'	'dåd <sub>1</sub> 'deed.SG'
c.	'öfver,gifvit <sub>2</sub> 'drifvit <sub>2</sub>	'abandon-PERF' 'drive-PERF'	'gifvit <sub>2</sub> 'give-PERF'

If we only consider the second stressed foot of the complex words in these rhymes, we find remarkable consistency with end-rhymes always matching in tonal accents. In (22a, b) we have two examples of compounds rhymed with simplex words. Nicander places the first syllable as well as the last syllable of the compounds in strong position, which means that they had the same stress as today. Main stress is on the first syllable, and secondary stress on the first syllable of the last member in compounds. Nicander does not match the accent of the whole compound for the end-rhyme. Instead he only matches the accent of the rightmost prosodic feet: a monosyllabic word, which is a foot on its own, with the monosyllabic second member of these compounds, *dåd<sub>1</sub> ~ nåd<sub>1</sub>*. Or the rhymes consist of inflected words, matching in accent, *'gifvit<sub>2</sub> ~ 'drifvit<sub>2</sub>*. Note that the nonprefixed form is not necessarily directly related to the prefixed word.

We have now deduced that Nicander only considers the accent of the last prosodic foot of compounds and words with derivational suffixes. If we assume the same principle of rhyming for prefixed forms as well, everything falls into place. Looked at it in this light, Nicander now succeeds in matching the accents of all his rhymes, as the examples in (23) illustrate.

(23) End-rhymes involving unstressed prefixed words

Rhyming pair	Gloss		Base form of prefixed word – inflected or definite
a. 'gifver <sub>1</sub> fö'r'drifver <sub>1</sub>	(gifv-er) (fö'rdrifv-er)	'give-PRES' 'banish-PRES'	'drifver <sub>1</sub> 'drift-PRES'
b. 'grifter <sub>2</sub> be'drifter <sub>1</sub>	(grift-er) (bedrift-er)	'tomb-PL' 'achievement-PL'	'drifter <sub>2</sub> 'drive-PL'
c. 'skära <sub>2</sub> fö'r'fära <sub>1</sub>	(skär-a) (fö'r'fär-a)	'cut-INF' 'terrify-INF'	'fära <sub>2</sub> 'danger.SG'
d. 'på'kalla <sub>2</sub> be'falla <sub>1</sub>		'call for-INF' 'command-INF'	'kalla <sub>2</sub> 'call-INF' 'falla <sub>2</sub> 'fall-INF'

The word pair in (23a) happens to match in accent, but we can also see that the rightmost prosodic foot is the lexical word *drifver*<sub>1</sub> which makes a perfect match with *gifver*<sub>1</sub>. In (23b) the accent of the prefixed form does not match the accent of the word with which it is rhymed. However, the second foot of the prefixed form again is a lexical item *drifter*<sub>2</sub>, which matches the accent of *grifter*<sub>2</sub>. The rhymes in (23c–d) are infinitive forms which have mismatching accents. But as soon as we consider just the accent of the rightmost foot we get the match of lexical items with the matching accents, as in *falla*<sub>2</sub> and *kalla*<sub>2</sub>. Riad's explanation that *bedrifter*<sub>1</sub> rhymes with *grifter*<sub>2</sub> because the former (i.e. words with unstressed prefixes) bore Accent 2 in earlier times does not explain why Nicander would then permit *fö'rdrifver*<sub>1</sub> to rhyme with *gifver*<sub>1</sub>.

Hence, our prediction is that Nicander would never rhyme a prefixed word with a non-prefixed word if the stems (inflected or bare stems) did NOT match in accent. That is, a prefixed word such as *be'sviken*<sub>1</sub> 'disappointed', where the base form in isolation *sviken*<sub>2</sub> (*svika*-PAST PARTICIPLE 'to be let down') bears Accent 2, cannot rhyme with a noun in the definite singular such as *viken*<sub>1</sub> 'bay=DEF.PL'. This would also be the prediction of Riad since he would assume the unstressed prefixes like *be'sviken* were earlier Accent 2. There is only one example which contradicts this hypothesis, where the non-prefixed form can be one of two possible stems, both unrelated to the prefixed word: *be'dragen*<sub>1</sub> 'to deceive-PAST PART' ~ *dagen*<sub>1</sub> 'day=DEF.SG'. The stressed foot of the prefixed form could match the verb *dragen*<sub>2</sub>, which would be Accent 2, as well as a noun *dragen*<sub>1</sub> 'stroke=DEF.PL', which is Accent-1. Presumably Nicander chose the Accent 1 option. However, we make an even stronger prediction, namely that Nicander could not rhyme stressed disyllabic prefixed words like '*undan*<sub>1</sub>*tagen*<sub>2</sub> 'exception=DEF.PL' with a word like *slagen*<sub>2</sub> 'slap PAST PART' although these words would match in accent perfectly. This is because *tagen*<sub>1</sub> 'grip=DEF.PL' in isolation

bears Accent 1 and could never rhyme with an Accent-2 word *slagen*<sub>2</sub>. Such rhymes should be possible if Nicander was considering the accent of the entire prefixed word. Rather, in both instances (unstressed as well as stressed prefixes), although the accents of the complex words matched, rhymes would not be possible if the base words, included in the final prosodic foot, did not. All problematic rhymes can be accounted for – *för'drifver*<sub>1</sub> (*drifver*<sub>1</sub>) ~ *gifver*<sub>1</sub>, *be'drifter*<sub>1</sub> (*drifter*<sub>2</sub>) ~ *grifter*<sub>2</sub>, *'öfver.gifvit*<sub>2</sub> (*gifvit*<sub>2</sub>) ~ *drifvit*<sub>2</sub>, *'undan.tag*<sub>2</sub> (*tag*<sub>1</sub>) ~ *lag*<sub>1</sub>, etc. – if we assume that Nicander considered the accent of the nonprefixed word, or in rare cases the stressed derivational suffix. As we can see from Nicander's rhyme pairs in the Appendix, this hypothesis is borne out.

Thus, our interpretation is that in rhymes Nicander only looked at the frame of masculine and feminine end-rhymes since these are the only two possible forms of rhymes that he allows in his theory of verse. The frame of masculine and feminine rhymes always contains segments that are simplex or suffixed/cliticized words. Although he notices discrepancies in his manual, the accent pattern of prefixed words as a whole is disregarded insofar as his end-rhymes are concerned. Therefore, since Nicander always matched the accent of the rightmost prosodic foot for his rhymes, prefixed words in rhymes do not provide any evidence whatsoever that the words with unstressed prefixes that are special today were different in Nicander's language.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Modern Swedish verse usually disregards tonal accents, and it has never been established as a general rule in Swedish poetry that the principle of matching accents is important for rhyme. Even famous poets like Carl Michael Bellman (1740–1795) and Hjalmar Gullberg (1898–1961) ignored accent differences when composing rhyming verse. Within this tradition, Anders Nicander stands out in that his rules clearly state that words must have the same accent to make a perfect rhyme. His Rule XII:4 (cf. section 3.2.4 above) warns the aspiring poet against using rhymes that match segmentally but not tonally. After careful examination of Nicander's poetic manual and his rhymes, we have been able to show that his comments reflect tonal accent in natural speech of his time. He was acutely sensitive to accent and actively attempted to match it in his own end-rhymes. Comparing his rhymed words with their modern Swedish counterparts, we found that Nicander used simplex, suffixed and cliticized words as rhyme pairs only when they match in accent today – and there is no reason to assume that relevant accents have changed in the meantime: *'börda*<sub>2</sub> 'burden.SG' ~ *'värda*<sub>2</sub> 'respect.INF', *'gläder*<sub>1</sub> (*gläd-er*) 'please-PRES' ~ *'fäder*<sub>1</sub> (*fader.PL-*) 'father.PL'. Further support comes from his manual where he particularly observes that nouns hosting definite enclitics and nouns in the indefinite plural are bad rhymes (cf. section 3.2.4 above).

Not only was Nicander sensitive to such accent contrasts, his awareness of the accents led him to make use of them in verse. His examples call attention to the

accent differences between words such as *'talen<sub>1</sub>* (*tal=en*) ‘number=DEF.PL’ vs. *'galen<sub>2</sub>* ‘mad’. Such contrasts are found in Swedish today. Thus, we could conclude that Nicander’s suffixes and clitics formed different accent assignment domains as they do in modern Swedish.

However, in Nicander’s rhymes involving more complex structures with derivational suffixes, prefixes and compounds, we ascertained that half of his rhymes do not have matching accents in the modern language if we consider the accent of the whole complex word structures. The explanation is that in these instances Nicander did not match the accent of the entire complex words, but only of the final prosodic feet, and these feet could be inflected or uninflected words or even stressed suffixes (e.g. *för'drifver<sub>1</sub>* (*drifver<sub>1</sub>*) with *'gifver<sub>1</sub>*, *be'slutit<sub>1</sub>* (*slutit<sub>2</sub>*) with *'flutit<sub>2</sub>*, *'öfver flöd<sub>2</sub>* (*flöd<sub>1</sub>*) with *'stöd<sub>1</sub>*, *'måttlig het<sub>2</sub>* with *'vet<sub>1</sub>*). This interpretation does not mean that Nicander did not recognize accent differences with prefixed words and compounds, nor that the accent patterns of unstressed or stressed prefixes were different in his time. He only considers the final prosodic foot which is within the frame of the masculine and the feminine rhymes that he describes in his manual. When discussing quantity, Nicander notes that words with initial *be-* or *för-* behave differently compared to other ‘compounds’, and that they have different accents from their nonprefixed forms (cf. section 3.1 above: *'fara<sub>2</sub>* vs. *för'fara<sub>1</sub>*, *lade<sub>2</sub>* vs. *be'lade<sub>1</sub>*). Thus, there are clear indications in Nicander’s manual that the unstressed Germanic prefixes in modern Swedish, which bear lexical Accent 1, were always Accent 1 and never Accent 2 (cf. Lahiri et al. 2005a).

Two alternative explanations regarding Nicander’s rhymes in complex words have been proposed. Consider first the pair *'Götha land<sub>2</sub>* and *band<sub>1</sub>*. Kock argued that compounds like *Göthaland* could have had main stress on the second constituent rather than the first, and therefore must have been Accent 1 as are monosyllabic words like *band*. If it were true that the accents of the complex forms always matched, then prefixed words like *'påkalla* would have been Accent 1 to match the Accent 1 of *be'falla*. The opposite speculation is offered by Riad (1998), who suggests that words with unstressed prefixes *be-* or *för-*, as in *be'falla*, were originally Accent 2 to match the Accent 2 of *'påkalla*. However, this account does not explain why Nicander rhymed *för'drifver<sub>1</sub>* with *'gifver<sub>1</sub>*. If *för'drifver* originally bore Accent 2, this rhyme would be inexplicable.

We feel that neither explanation accounts for the complete picture, which is that Nicander only considered the accent of the rightmost foot (from the stressed vowel on) for his rhymes and that accent structure has remained unchanged since. We suggest that *be'falla<sub>1</sub>* rhymes with *'på kalla<sub>2</sub>* and *för'drifver<sub>1</sub>* rhymes with *'gifver<sub>1</sub>* because the accents of the inflected stems (which include the final foot) are the same: *'drifver<sub>1</sub> ~ 'gifver<sub>1</sub>* and *'falla<sub>2</sub> ~ kalla<sub>2</sub>*. Our hypotheses are supported, as mentioned earlier, by Nicander’s detailed descriptions of the use of accents in rhyming and the differences between the accents in simplex and complex words (cf. section 3). Further, our claim makes the strong prediction that Nicander could not rhyme stressed disyllabic prefixed

words which have always been Accent 2, like 'undan<sub>1</sub>tagen<sub>2</sub> 'exception=PL.DEF' with a word like *slagen<sub>2</sub>* 'slap-PAST PART', although at first glance both forms match perfectly in accent. This is because the nonprefixed stem *tagen<sub>1</sub>* 'grip=PL.DEF' in isolation bears Accent 1 and would not rhyme with *slagen<sub>2</sub>*. Further, Nicander's rhymes in the Appendix bear out our accent matching hypothesis.

Thus, Nicander's manual and verse constitute a valuable source of information on tonal accents in 18th-century Swedish. His own verse together with his comments on what ought and ought not make up a perfect rhyme indicate that Nicander was fully aware of the tonal accent contrast of his time. Based on his rhymes, we can conclude that the accent pattern has not changed since his time. Since matching tonal accents has never been common in verse, we are fortunate to have this unique source of information about Swedish tonal accent as it was two centuries ago.

## APPENDIX

### A. Simplex masculinæ end-rhymes

	RHYME	MODERN SWEDISH FORM AND ACCENT	MORPHOLOGICAL DECOMPOSITION	GLOSS
1	lag	lag <sub>1</sub>		law.SG
	slag	slag <sub>1</sub>		kind.SG
2	vil	vill <sub>1</sub>		want.PRES
	til	till <sub>1</sub>		to <sub>PREP</sub>
3	lopp	lopp <sub>1</sub>		course.SG
	hopp	hopp <sub>1</sub>		hope.SG
4	ger	ger <sub>1</sub>	(ge-r)	give-PRES
	ser	ser <sub>1</sub>	(se-r)	see-PRES
5	mot	mot <sub>1</sub>		against <sub>PREP</sub>
	bot	bot <sub>1</sub>		cure.SG
6	mor	mor <sub>1</sub>		mother.SG
	stor	stor <sub>1</sub>		big <sub>ADJ</sub>
7	folk	folk <sub>1</sub>		folk.SG
	tolk	tolk <sub>1</sub>		interpreter.SG
8	nöd	nöd <sub>1</sub>		distress.SG
	död	död <sub>1</sub>		death.SG
9	går	går <sub>1</sub>	(gå-r)	walk-PRES
	står	står <sub>1</sub>	(stå-r)	stand-PRES
10	stand	stånd <sub>1</sub>		state.SG
	tand	tand <sub>1</sub>		tooth.SG

	RHYME	MODERN SWEDISH FORM AND ACCENT	MORPHOLOGICAL DECOMPOSITION	GLOSS
11	le ge se	le <sub>1</sub> ge <sub>1</sub> se <sub>1</sub>		smile.INF give.INF see.INF
12	täckt käckt	täckt <sub>1</sub> käckt <sub>1</sub>		covered <sub>ADJ</sub> dashing <sub>ADJ</sub>
13	hit split	hit <sub>1</sub> split <sub>1</sub>		here <sub>ADV</sub> discord.SG
14	namn famn	namn <sub>1</sub> famn <sub>1</sub>		name.SG armful.SG
15	bön lön	bön <sub>1</sub> lön <sub>1</sub>		prayer.SG salary.SG
16	Figin fin	Figin fin <sub>1</sub>		(proper name) fine <sub>ADJ</sub>
17	ger ser	ger <sub>1</sub> ser <sub>1</sub>	(ge-r) (se-r)	give-PRES see-PRES
18	fin in	fin <sub>1</sub> in <sub>1</sub>		fine <sub>ADJ</sub> in <sub>PREP</sub>
19	lyst bryst	lyst <sub>1</sub> bröst <sub>1</sub>	(lys-t)	shine-PERF chest.SG
20	siäl väl	själ <sub>1</sub> väl <sub>1</sub>		soul.SG well <sub>ADJ</sub>
21	sält gält	sällt <sub>1</sub> gällt <sub>1</sub>		blissfull <sub>ADJ</sub> shrill <sub>ADJ</sub>
22	full gull kull	full <sub>1</sub> guld <sub>1</sub> (om)kull <sub>1</sub>		full <sub>ADJ</sub> gold.SG down/over <sub>ADV</sub>
23	sol pol	sol <sub>1</sub> pol <sub>1</sub>		sun.SG pole.SG
24	dig mig	dig <sub>1</sub> mig <sub>1</sub>		you me
25	stund grund	stund <sub>1</sub> grund <sub>1</sub>		moment.SG ground.SG
26	lopp opp	lopp <sub>1</sub> opp <sub>1</sub>		lapse.SG up <sub>ADV</sub>

	RHYME	MODERN SWEDISH FORM AND ACCENT	MORPHOLOGICAL DECOMPOSITION	GLOSS
27	hopp lopp	hopp <sub>1</sub> lopp <sub>1</sub>		hope.SG race.SG
28	här är	här <sub>1</sub> är <sub>1</sub>		here <sub>ADV</sub> be.PRES
29	til vil	till <sub>1</sub> vill <sub>1</sub>		to <sub>PREP</sub> want.PRES
30	ben ren	ben <sub>1</sub> ren <sub>1</sub>		bone.SG/PL only <sub>ADV</sub>
31	rätt sätt	rätt <sub>1</sub> sätt <sub>1</sub>		right <sub>ADV</sub> manner.SG
32	dräng äng	dräng <sub>1</sub> äng <sub>1</sub>		farm hand.SG meadow.SG
33	får sår	får <sub>1</sub> sår <sub>1</sub>	(få-r) (så-r)	get-PRES sow-PRES
34	här är	här <sub>1</sub> är <sub>1</sub>		here <sub>ADV</sub> be.PRES
35	tro bo	tro <sub>1</sub> bo <sub>1</sub>		belief.SG live.INF
36	hopp opp	hopp <sub>1</sub> opp <sub>1</sub>		hope.SG up <sub>PREP</sub>
37	opp hopp	opp <sub>1</sub> hopp <sub>1</sub>		up <sub>PREP</sub> hope.SG
38	är här	är <sub>1</sub> här <sub>1</sub>		be.PRES here <sub>ADV</sub>
39	värd flärd	värd <sub>1</sub> flärd <sub>1</sub>		worthy <sub>ADJ</sub> vanity.SG
40	tarf arf	tarv <sub>1</sub> arv <sub>1</sub>		need.SG inheritance.SG
41	folk tolk	folk <sub>1</sub> tolk <sub>1</sub>		people.SG interpreter.SG
42	mer ser	mer <sub>1</sub> ser <sub>1</sub>	(se-r)	more <sub>ADI/ADV</sub> see-PRES
43	hast fast	hast <sub>1</sub> fast <sub>1</sub>		haste.SG firm <sub>ADV</sub>
44	man kan	man <sub>1</sub> kan <sub>1</sub>		man.SG can.PRES

	RHYME	MODERN SWEDISH FORM AND ACCENT	MORPHOLOGICAL DECOMPOSITION	GLOSS
45	famn hamn	famn <sub>1</sub> hamn <sub>1</sub>		bosom.SG harbour.SG
46	fått nått	fått <sub>1</sub> nått <sub>1</sub>	(få-tt) (nå-tt)	get-PERF reach-PERF
47	år spår	år <sub>1</sub> spår <sub>1</sub>		year.SG track.SG
48	yrt dyrt	yrt <sub>1</sub> dyrt <sub>1</sub>		giddy <sub>ADJ</sub> expensive <sub>ADJ</sub>
49	här där	här <sub>1</sub> där <sub>1</sub>		here <sub>ADV</sub> there <sub>ADV</sub>
50	mig dig	mig <sub>1</sub> dig <sub>1</sub>		me you
51	tro ro	tro <sub>1</sub> ro <sub>1</sub>		belief.SG rest.SG
52	dig mig	dig <sub>1</sub> mig <sub>1</sub>		you me
53	har klar	har <sub>1</sub> klar <sub>1</sub>	(ha-r)	have-INF clear <sub>ADJ</sub>
54	knut ut	knut <sub>1</sub> ut <sub>1</sub>		knot.SG out <sub>ADV</sub>
55	klot bot	klot <sub>1</sub> bot <sub>1</sub>		globe.SG cure.SG
56	får slår	får <sub>1</sub> slår <sub>1</sub>	(få-r) (slå-r)	have-PRES hit-PRES
57	säng dräng	säng <sub>1</sub> dräng <sub>1</sub>		bed.SG farm hand.SG
58	där här	där <sub>1</sub> här <sub>1</sub>		there <sub>ADV</sub> here <sub>ADV</sub>
59	stod mod	stod <sub>1</sub> mod <sub>1</sub>	(sto-d)	stand-PRET courage.SG
60	bur sur	bur <sub>1</sub> sur <sub>1</sub>		cage.SG sour <sub>ADJ</sub>
61	hämd skämd	hämd <sub>1</sub> skämd <sub>1</sub>		revenge.SG tainted <sub>ADJ</sub>
62	fält tält	fält <sub>1</sub> tält <sub>1</sub>		field.SG tent.SG

**B. Simplex feminine end-rhymes**

RHYMES	MODERN SWEDISH FORM AND ACCENT	MORPHOLOGICAL DECOMPOSITION	GLOSS
1 börda vörda	börda <sub>2</sub> vörda <sub>2</sub>		burden.SG revere.INF
2 fara para vara	fara <sub>2</sub> para <sub>2</sub> vara <sub>2</sub>	(far-a) (var-a)	go-INF pair.INF be-INF
3 blifva drifva	blifva <sub>2</sub> drifva <sub>2</sub>	(blifv-a) (drifv-a)	become-INF drift-INF
4 kröna röna	kröna <sub>2</sub> röna <sub>2</sub>		crown.INF meet with.INF
5 tänka sänka	tänka <sub>2</sub> sänka <sub>2</sub>	(tänk-a) (sänk-a)	think-INF lower-INF
6 knutit slutit	knutit <sub>2</sub> slutit <sub>2</sub>	(knut-it) (slut-it)	knot-PERF close-PERF
7 penne trenne	penna <sub>2</sub> trenne <sub>2</sub>		pen.SG three
8 lifve gifve	lifve <sub>2</sub> gifve <sub>2</sub>	(lifv-e) (gifv-e)	enliven-PRES.SUBJUNCTIVE give-PRES.SUBJUNCTIVE
9 gläder fäder	gläder <sub>1</sub> fäder <sub>1</sub>	(gläd-er)	delight-PRES father.PL_
10 dygden bygden	dygden <sub>1</sub> bygden <sub>1</sub>	(dygd=en) (bygd=en)	virtue=DEF.SG district=DEF.SG
11 heder neder	heder <sub>1</sub> neder <sub>1</sub>		honour.SG down <sub>ADV</sub>
12 bära ära	bära <sub>2</sub> ära <sub>2</sub>	(bär-a)	carry-INF honour.INF
13 lämna nämna	lämna <sub>2</sub> nämna <sub>2</sub>	(näm-n-a)	leave.INF mention-INF
14 trycka rycka	trycka <sub>2</sub> rycka <sub>2</sub>	(tryck-a) (ryck-a)	press-INF pull-INF
15 skänka kränka	skänka <sub>2</sub> kränka <sub>2</sub>	(skänk-a) (kränk-a)	give-INF offend-INF
16 grönske önske	grönske <sub>2</sub> önske <sub>2</sub>	(grönsk(a)-e) (önsk(a)-e)	become green-PRES.SUBJUNCTIVE wish-PRES.SUBJUNCTIVE

	RHYMES	MODERN SWEDISH FORM AND ACCENT	MORPHOLOGICAL DECOMPOSITION	GLOSS
17	like vike	like <sub>2</sub> vike <sub>2</sub>	( <i>vik-e</i> )	equal.SG yield-PRES.SUBJUNCTIVE
18	hägnad fägnad	hägnad <sub>2</sub> fägnad <sub>2</sub>		protection.SG joy.SG
19	sommar blommar	sommar <sub>2</sub> blommar <sub>2</sub>	( <i>blomma-r</i> )	summer.SG bloom-PRES
20	hunnit funnit	hunnit <sub>2</sub> funnit <sub>2</sub>	( <i>hunn-it</i> ) ( <i>funn-it</i> )	catch up-PERF find-PERF
21	föder öder	föder <sub>1</sub> öder <sub>1</sub>	( <i>föd-er</i> ) ( <i>öd(a)-er</i> )	breed-INF waste-INF
22	kläder fäder	kläder <sub>1</sub> fäder <sub>1</sub>		clothes.PL father.PL <sub>̄</sub>
23	lågar vågar	lågar <sub>2</sub> vågar <sub>2</sub>	( <i>låga-r</i> ) ( <i>vaga-r</i> )	blaze-PRES dare-PRES
24	niuta sluta	njuta <sub>2</sub> sluta <sub>2</sub>	( <i>njut-a</i> )	enjoy-INF stop-INF
25	skänker tänker	skänker <sub>1</sub> tänker <sub>1</sub>	( <i>skänk-r</i> ) ( <i>tänk-r</i> )	give-PRES think-PRES
26	manar banar	manar <sub>2</sub> banar <sub>2</sub>	( <i>mana-r</i> ) ( <i>bana-r</i> )	exhort-PRES make ones way-PRES
27	Herran fierran	Herren <sub>2</sub> fjärran <sub>2</sub>	( <i>Herre=en</i> )	Lord=DEF.SG distant <sub>ADV</sub>
28	fägnad hägnad	fägnad <sub>2</sub> hägnad <sub>2</sub>		delight.SG protection.SG
29	vunnit brunnit	vunnit <sub>2</sub> brunnit <sub>2</sub>	( <i>vunn-it</i> ) ( <i>brunn-it</i> )	win-PERF burn-PERF
30	böner röner	böner <sub>2[1]</sub> röner <sub>1</sub>	( <i>bön-er</i> ) ( <i>rön-er</i> )	prayer-PL (earlier form: böner <sub>1</sub> ) meet with.PRES
31	strida rida	strida <sub>2</sub> rida <sub>2</sub>	( <i>strid-a</i> ) ( <i>rid-a</i> )	fight-INF rid-INF
32	yrka styrka	yrka <sub>2</sub> styrka <sub>2</sub>		demand-INF strength.SG
33	skada lada	skada <sub>2</sub> lada <sub>2</sub>		injury.SG barn.SG

	RHYMES	MODERN SWEDISH FORM AND ACCENT	MORPHOLOGICAL DECOMPOSITION	GLOSS
34	söka röka	söka <sub>2</sub> röka <sub>2</sub>	( <i>sök-a</i> ) ( <i>rök-a</i> )	search-INF smoke-INF
35	dämpa kämpa	dämpa <sub>2</sub> kämpa <sub>2</sub>		moderate-INF fight-INF
36	hetar retar	hettar <sub>2</sub> retar <sub>2</sub>	( <i>hetta-r</i> ) ( <i>reta-r</i> )	heat-PRES tease-PRES
37	handen anden	handen <sub>1</sub> anden <sub>2</sub> [1]	( <i>hand=en</i> ) ( <i>ande=en</i> )	hand=DEF.SG spirit=DEF.SG [earlier form: anden <sub>1</sub> ( <i>and-en</i> ) 'spirit-DEF']
38	föga öga	föga <sub>2</sub> öga <sub>2</sub>		little <sub>ADV</sub> eye.SG
39	skådar bådar	skådar <sub>2</sub> bådar <sub>2</sub>	( <i>skåda-r</i> ) ( <i>båda-r</i> )	behold-PRES betoken-PRES
40	siunga tunga	sjunga <sub>2</sub> tunga <sub>2</sub>	( <i>sjung-a</i> )	sing-INF tongue.SG
41	hörer förer	hör <sub>1</sub> för <sub>1</sub>		hear.PRES lead.PRES
42	fånge månge	fånge <sub>2</sub> många <sub>2</sub>	( <i>fång-e</i> )	catch-PRES.SUBJUNCTIVE many <sub>ADJ</sub>
43	vara spara	vara <sub>2</sub> spara <sub>2</sub>	( <i>var-a</i> )	be-INF spare-INF
44	hafva grafva	hava <sub>2</sub> (ha) gräva <sub>2</sub>	( <i>hav-a</i> ) ( <i>gräv-a</i> )	have-INF dig-INF
45	tarfvar slarfvar	tarvar <sub>2</sub> slarvar <sub>2</sub>	( <i>tarva-r</i> ) ( <i>slarva-r</i> )	require-PRES neglect-PRES
46	skrifva drifva	skriva <sub>2</sub> driva <sub>2</sub>	( <i>skriv-a</i> ) ( <i>driv-a</i> )	write-INF drift-INF
47	gifvas trifvas	givas <sub>2</sub> (ges) trivas <sub>2</sub>	( <i>giva-s</i> )	give-PASS thrive.REFL
48	lyser hyser	lyser <sub>1</sub> hyser <sub>1</sub>	( <i>lys-er</i> ) ( <i>hys-er</i> )	shine-PRES house-PRES
49	fråga äga	fråga <sub>2</sub> äga <sub>2</sub>	( <i>äg-a</i> )	ask-INF own-INF

	RHYMES	MODERN SWEDISH FORM AND ACCENT	MORPHOLOGICAL DECOMPOSITION	GLOSS
50	sväfv lefva	sväva <sub>2</sub> leva <sub>2</sub>	( <i>lev-a</i> )	float-INF live-INF
51	mäta äta	mäta <sub>2</sub> äta <sub>2</sub>	( <i>mät-a</i> ) ( <i>ät-a</i> )	measure-INF eat-INF
52	sofva lofva	sova <sub>2</sub> lova <sub>2</sub>	( <i>sov-a</i> )	sleep-INF promise-INF
53	skrifva drifva	skriva <sub>2</sub> driva <sub>2</sub>	( <i>skriv-a</i> ) ( <i>driv-a</i> )	write-INF drift-INF
54	fara spara	fara <sub>2</sub> spara <sub>2</sub>	( <i>far-a</i> )	go-INF spare-INF
55	toler goler	tåler <sub>1</sub> (tål) galer <sub>1</sub> (gal)	( <i>tål-er</i> ) ( <i>gol-er</i> )	bear-PRES crow-PRES
56	föder göder	föder <sub>1</sub> göder <sub>1</sub>	( <i>föd-er</i> ) ( <i>göd-er</i> )	give birth-PRES feed-PRES
57	fångar gångar	fångar <sub>2</sub> gångar <sub>2</sub>	( <i>fång-ar</i> ) ( <i>gång-ar</i> )	catch-PRES path-PL
58	dricke spricke	dricke <sub>2</sub> spricke <sub>2</sub>	( <i>drick-e</i> ) ( <i>sprick-e</i> )	drink-PRES.SUBJUNCTIVE burst-PRES.SUBJUNCTIVE
59	ära kära	ära <sub>2</sub> kära <sub>2</sub>		honour.SG dear <sub>ADJ</sub>
60	fenster venster	fönster <sub>1</sub> vänster <sub>1</sub>		window.SG left.SG
61	vallar (N) kallar (V)	vallar <sub>2</sub> kallar <sub>2</sub>	( <i>vall-ar</i> ) ( <i>kalla-r</i> )	bank-PL call-PRES
62	farit varit	farit <sub>2</sub> varit <sub>2</sub>	( <i>far-it</i> ) ( <i>var-it</i> )	go-PERF be-PERF
63	gifver blifver	giver <sub>1</sub> (ger) bliver <sub>1</sub> (blir)	( <i>giv-er</i> ) ( <i>bliv-er</i> )	give-PRES become-PRES
64	unnar (V) brunnar (N)	unnar <sub>2</sub> brunnar <sub>2</sub>	( <i>unna-r</i> ) ( <i>brunn-ar</i> )	grant-PRES well-PL
65	kastar hastar	kastar <sub>2</sub> hastar <sub>2</sub>	( <i>kasta-r</i> ) ( <i>hasta-r</i> )	throw-PRES hasten-PRES
66	pustar rustar	pustar <sub>2</sub> rustar <sub>2</sub>	( <i>pusta-r</i> ) ( <i>rusta-r</i> )	puff-PRES arm-PRES

	RHYMES	MODERN SWEDISH FORM AND ACCENT	MORPHOLOGICAL DECOMPOSITION	GLOSS
67	pilar (N) smilar (V)	pilar <sub>2</sub> smilar <sub>2</sub>	( <i>pil-ar</i> ) ( <i>smila-r</i> )	arrow-PL smile-PRES
68	kastar hastar	kastar <sub>2</sub> hastar <sub>2</sub>	( <i>kasta-r</i> ) ( <i>hasta-r</i> )	throw-PRES hasten-PRES
69	blefvo klefvo	blev <sub>1</sub> klev <sub>1</sub>	( <i>blev-o</i> ) ( <i>klev-o</i> )	become.PRET-PL stride.PRET-PL
70	ligge tigge	ligge <sub>2</sub> tigge <sub>2</sub>	( <i>ligg-e</i> ) ( <i>tigg-e</i> )	lie-PRES.SUBJUNCTIVE beg-PRES.SUBJUNCTIVE
71	rörer förer	rör <sub>1</sub> för <sub>1</sub>	( <i>rör-er</i> ) ( <i>för-er</i> )	touch-PRES lead-PRES
72	vare pare	vare <sub>2</sub> pare <sub>2</sub>	( <i>var-e</i> ) ( <i>para-e</i> )	be-SUBJUNCTIVE unite-SUBJUNCTIVE
73	nalkas skalkas	nalkas <sub>2</sub> skalkas <sub>2</sub>		approach <sub>DEP</sub> jest <sub>DEP</sub>
74	fälla gälla	fälla <sub>2</sub> gälla <sub>2</sub>	( <i>fäll-a</i> ) ( <i>gäll-a</i> )	fell-INF be valid-INF
75	gifva blifva	giva <sub>2</sub> (ge) bliva <sub>2</sub> (bli)	( <i>giv-a</i> ) ( <i>bliv-a</i> )	give-INF become-INF
76	vara fara	vara <sub>2</sub> fara <sub>2</sub>	( <i>var-a</i> ) ( <i>far-a</i> )	be-INF go-INF

### C. Rhymes involving derivationally affixed words and compounds

	RHYME	MODERN SWEDISH FORM AND ACCENT	MORPHOLOGICAL DECOMPOSITION	GLOSS
1	lycksaligheten (som I) veten <sub>2</sub>	<sup>1</sup> lycksalig heten <sub>2</sub> / <sup>1</sup> lyck salig heten <sub>1</sub> veten <sub>2</sub> †	( <i>lycksalighet-en</i> ) ( <i>vet-en</i> )	bliss-DEF know-PRES.PL
2	måttlighet (säkert) vet	<sup>1</sup> måttlig het <sub>2</sub> (säkert) <sup>1</sup> vet <sub>1</sub>		moderation.SG know.PRES
3	(tids) omåttlighet (heta nu) poet	<sup>1</sup> omåttlig het <sub>2</sub> po <sup>1</sup> et <sub>1</sub>		immoderation.SG poet.SG
4	består svår	be <sup>1</sup> står <sub>1</sub> (står <sub>1</sub> ) <sup>1</sup> svår <sub>1</sub>	( <i>bestå-r</i> )	consist-PRES difficult <sub>ADJ</sub>
5	lag behag	<sup>1</sup> lag <sub>1</sub> be <sup>1</sup> hag <sub>1</sub>		law.SG pleasure.SG

	RHYME	MODERN SWEDISH FORM AND ACCENT	MORPHOLOGICAL DECOMPOSITION	GLOSS
6	har försvar	'har <sub>1</sub> fö'r'svar <sub>1</sub>	( <i>ha-r</i> )	have-PRES defence.SG
7	behag lag	be'hag <sub>1</sub> 'lag <sub>1</sub>		pleasure.SG law.SG
8	får förmår	'får <sub>1</sub> fö'r'mår <sub>1</sub>	( <i>få-r</i> ) ( <i>förmå-r</i> )	may-PRES be able to -PRES
9	består går	be'står <sub>1</sub> 'går <sub>1</sub>	( <i>bestå-r</i> ) ( <i>gå-r</i> )	consist-PRES walk-PRES
10	behag dag lag	be'hag <sub>1</sub> 'dag <sub>1</sub> 'lag <sub>1</sub>		pleasure.SG day.SG law.SG
11	ihjäl väl	i'hjäl <sub>1</sub> 'väl <sub>1</sub>		to death <sub>ADV</sub> well <sub>ADV</sub>
12	befalt alt	befallt <sub>1</sub> allt <sub>1</sub>	( <i>befall-t</i> )	command-PERF all <sub>PRON</sub>
13	utsträckt utsläckt	'ut, sträck <sub>2</sub> ('sträck <sub>1</sub> ) 'ut, släck <sub>2</sub> (släck <sub>1</sub> )		outstretched <sub>ADJ</sub> put out <sub>ADJ</sub>
14	påkalla befalla	'på, kalla <sub>2</sub> (kalla <sub>2</sub> ) be'falla <sub>1</sub> (falla <sub>2</sub> )	( <i>befall-a</i> )	call for-INF order-INF
15	skära förfära	'skära <sub>2</sub> fö'r'fära <sub>1</sub> (fara <sub>2</sub> )	( <i>skär-a</i> )	cut-INF terrify-INF
16	upsvalla falla	'up, svalla <sub>2</sub> (svalla <sub>2</sub> ) 'falla <sub>2</sub>	( <i>fall-a</i> )	overflow.SG fall-SG
17	regera förmera	re'gera <sub>1</sub> fö'r'mera <sub>1</sub>		rule-INF increase-INF
18	lära förtära	'lära <sub>2</sub> fö'r'tära <sub>1</sub> (tära <sub>2</sub> )	( <i>lär-a</i> ) ( <i>förtär-a</i> )	teach-INF consume-INF
19	röja förnöja	'röja <sub>2</sub> fö'r <sub>1</sub> nöja <sub>2</sub> (nöja <sub>2</sub> )	( <i>röj-a</i> ) ( <i>förnöj-a</i> )	clear-INF gratify-INF
20	flere regiere	'flera <sub>1</sub> re'gera <sub>1</sub>		more <sub>ADJ</sub> rule-INF
21	upvakne sakne	'up <sub>1</sub> vakna <sub>2</sub> (vakna <sub>2</sub> ) 'sakna <sub>2</sub>	( <i>upvakn(a)-e</i> ) ( <i>sakn(a)-e</i> )	wake up-SUBJUNCTIVE miss-SUBJUNCTIVE
22	skådar benådar	'skådar <sub>2</sub> be'nådar <sub>1</sub> (nådar <sub>2</sub> )	( <i>skåda-r</i> ) ( <i>benåda-r</i> )	behold-PRES pardon-PRES
23	tillbeder neder	'till, beder <sub>2</sub> (beder <sub>1</sub> ) 'neder <sub>1</sub>	( <i>tillbed-er</i> )	worship-PRES down <sub>ADV</sub>
24	gifver fördrifver	'giver <sub>1</sub> fö'r'driver <sub>1</sub> ('driver <sub>1</sub> )	( <i>gifv-er</i> ) ( <i>födrifv-er</i> )	give-INF expel-INF
25	bedrifter grifter	be'drifter <sub>1</sub> ('drifter <sub>2</sub> ) 'grifter <sub>2</sub>	( <i>bedrift-er</i> ) ( <i>grift-er</i> )	achievement-PL tomb-PL
26	utsträcker betäcker	'ut, sträck <sub>2</sub> (sträck <sub>1</sub> ) be'täck <sub>1</sub> (täck <sub>1</sub> )		outstretched <sub>ADJ</sub> covered <sub>ADJ</sub>

RHYME	MODERN SWEDISH FORM AND ACCENT	MORPHOLOGICAL DECOMPOSITION	GLOSS
27 bryder fortryder	bryr <sub>1</sub> förttryer <sub>1</sub> †	(bryd-er) (fortryd-er)	care-INF resent-INF
28 bagateller beställer	baga'teller <sub>1</sub> be'ställer <sub>1</sub> (ställer <sub>1</sub> )	(bagatell-er) (beställ-er)	trifle-PL order-PRES
29 förer förstörer	förer <sub>1</sub> (föri <sub>1</sub> ) förstörer <sub>1</sub> (förstöri <sub>1</sub> )	(fö-er) (förstör-er)	lead-PRES destroy-PRES
30 beslutit flutit	be'slutit <sub>1</sub> (slutit <sub>2</sub> ) 'flutit <sub>2</sub>	(beslut-it) (flut-it)	embrace-PERF float-PERF
31 lastat antastat	'lastat <sub>2</sub> 'antastat <sub>2</sub> (tastat <sub>2</sub> )	(lasta-t) (antasta-t)	load-PERF molest-PERF
32 förfarit varit	för'farit <sub>1</sub> (farit <sub>2</sub> ) 'varit <sub>2</sub>	(förfar-it) (var-it)	proceed-PERF be-PERF
33 regeras formeras	re'geras <sub>1</sub> for'meras <sub>1</sub>	(regera-s) (formera-s)	rule.INF-PASS form.INF-PASS
34 Astrologen (uppå) krogen	astro'logen <sub>1</sub> 'krogen <sub>1</sub>	(astrolog=en) (krog=en)	astrologer=DEF.SG inn=DEF.SG
35 bedragen dagen	be'dragen <sub>1</sub> 'dagen <sub>1</sub>	(bedrag-en) (dag=en)	deceive-PASS-PART day=DEF.SG
36 förena Magdalena	för'ena <sub>1</sub> (ena <sub>2</sub> ) Magda'lena <sub>2</sub> (Lena <sub>2</sub> )		unite-INF (proper name)
37 hastar nederkastar	'hastar <sub>2</sub> 'neder'kastar <sub>2</sub>	(hasta-r) (nederkasta-r)	hurry-PRES throw down-PRES
38 nåd öfverdåd	'nåd <sub>1</sub> 'öfver,dåd <sub>2</sub> (dåd <sub>1</sub> )		mercy.SG extravagance.SG
39 öfverflöd stöd	'öfver,flöd <sub>2</sub> (flöd <sub>1</sub> ) 'stöd <sub>1</sub>		abundance.SG support.SG
40 öfverdåd råd	'över,dåd <sub>2</sub> (dåd <sub>1</sub> ) 'råd <sub>1</sub>		extravagance.SG advice.SG
41 öfvergifvit drifvit	'över,givit <sub>2</sub> (givit <sub>2</sub> ) 'drivit <sub>2</sub>	(övergiv-it) (drif-it)	abandon-PERF drive-PERF
42 öfverflöd glöd	'över,flöd <sub>2</sub> (flöd <sub>1</sub> ) 'glöd <sub>1</sub>		abundance.SG glow.SG
43 undantag lag	'undan,täg <sub>2</sub> (tag <sub>1</sub> ) 'lag <sub>1</sub>		exception.SG law.SG
44 råd villebråd	'råd <sub>1</sub> 'ville,bråd <sub>2</sub> (bråd <sub>1</sub> )		means.SG game.SG
45 boke-tro  gro	boktro <sub>2</sub> (tro <sub>1</sub> )  gro <sub>1</sub>		(Christian) faith according to the books.SG sprout-INF
46 Götha-land band	'Götha-,land <sub>2</sub> (land <sub>1</sub> ) 'band <sub>1</sub>		(geographic area of Sweden) band.SG

	RHYME	MODERN SWEDISH FORM AND ACCENT	MORPHOLOGICAL DECOMPOSITION	GLOSS
47	Taleman kan	'tales <sub>1</sub> man <sub>2</sub> (man <sub>1</sub> ) 'kan <sub>1</sub>		spokesman.SG can.PRES
48	tänke-sätt rätt	tankesätt <sub>2</sub> (sätt <sub>1</sub> ) rätt <sub>1</sub>		way of thinking.SG right.SG
49	ärefull gull	'äre <sub>1</sub> full <sub>2</sub> (full <sub>1</sub> ) 'gull <sub>1</sub>		honourable <sub>ADJ</sub> gold.SG
50	silfversparrar knarrar	'silver <sub>1</sub> sparrar <sub>2</sub> (sparrar <sub>2</sub> ) 'knarrar <sub>2</sub>	( <i>silversparre-ar</i> ) ( <i>knarra-r</i> )	silverbaulk-PL creak-PRES
51	poeten propheten Gudligheten	pö'teten <sub>1</sub> pro'feten <sub>1</sub> 'gudlig <sub>1</sub> heten <sub>2</sub>	( <i>poet-en</i> ) ( <i>profet-en</i> ) ( <i>gudlighet-en</i> )	poet-DEF prophet-DEF divinity-DEF

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## NOTES

1. Henceforth accents are marked with a subscript: <sub>1</sub> for words with Accent 1 and <sub>2</sub> for words with Accent 2, indicating accents in modern Central Swedish. Where morphological composition is indicated, we distinguish between suffixes, which are separated by a hyphen, and clitics, which are separated by an equals sign. The abstract diacritic [˘] indicates lexical specification of accent, i.e. words or affixes that carry Accent 1. In words, the diacritic has been placed above the stressed syllable, where the accent is also realized after accent assignment. In the case of unstressed affixes, the diacritic is placed above the hyphen, and after accent assignment the accent is realized on the stressed syllable of the affixed word form.

## 2. Examples from Bellman and Gullberg.

Bellman: Venus du täcka,  
 Fritt lemna din snäcka  
 Vid vår strand;  
 Lustan sku vi väcka  
 Med glas i hand.  
 Ach! mina **Vänner**<sub>2</sub>,  
 Hvar en av Er **känner**<sub>1</sub> [...]

Gullberg: Romeo, Julia, Isolde, **Tristan**<sub>1</sub>  
 var mer i våra farföräldrars smak.  
 Vi har satt romantik på svarta **listan**<sub>2</sub>  
 Släpp ljus och luft i unkna sovgemak.

3. Fischer-Jørgensen (1992) provides a work of considerable depth on stress placement in 17th- and 18th-century Danish based on poetry.
4. By ‘modern Standard Swedish’ we mean the Central Swedish dialect which is usually assumed to be the standard.
5. Kristoffersen (2006) accepts Accent 1 to be the lexically specified accent for Norwegian, acknowledging that the morphophonological facts are covered more adequately under this assumption. However, for phonetic alignment, he assumes a non-privative explanation, very similar to Bruce (1977) for Swedish, which we also believe is correct.
6. Riad gives an alternative solution in his 2003 handout, assuming a two-morpheme constraint: ‘Lexical Accent 2 information must occur within the first two morphemes of a structure in order to become a property of the whole structure’ (2003:4). Thus *be’falla* receives default Accent 1, because the first two morphemes {*be*} and {*fall*} are lexically unspecified for tone, and the lexical Accent 2 information of the infinitive suffix {*a*} gets stranded in the third morpheme.
7. See Lahiri, Wetterlin & Jönsson-Steiner (2005b) for more information on suffixes and clitics.
8. In this context we would also like to point out that there are crucial differences in accent assignment between Standard East Norwegian and Central Swedish regarding stressed prefixes and compounds. Whereas compounds in Central Swedish get Accent 2 regardless of accent specification of individual words, Standard East Norwegian compounds get Accent 1 if the first member is lexically specified for accent. Further, whereas words with stressed prefixes in Central Swedish get compound accent (Accent 2), words with stressed prefixes in Standard East Norwegian can be EITHER Accent 1 OR Accent 2 depending on the syntactic category (East Norwegian: verbal ‘*avtale*<sub>1</sub> ‘to agree’ but nominal ‘*avtale*<sub>2</sub> ‘appointment’). Certain Southern Swedish dialects also follow the East Norwegian pattern. For further details see Wetterlin, Jönsson-Steiner & Lahiri (2007).
9. His statement reads as follows:

Så har jag, [...] til öfwertygande af Swenskans framför andra nu warande Europæiske Tungomåls egenskaper och förmåner, funnit mig föranlåten, at [...] göra några ofögrigelige försök och wisa, det vårt Språk kan äfwen bindas til de mäste Reglor, som i Latinska Poesien i acht tagas, och det med långt större behagelighet, än för detta merendels skiedt är. (Nicander 1737:foreword)

Free translation: ‘Therefore I have, [...] to the conviction of the qualities and advantages of the Swedish over other contemporary European tongues, found myself inclined to [...] make some harmless attempts to show that our language can also be bound to most of the rules that are followed in Latin poetry, and that to a far higher pleasure than has mostly been the case.’

10. Chapters II–IV discuss types of feet (trochaic, iambic, etc.) used in verse, and chapters V–IX list verse types (e.g. hexameter, pentameter, etc.). The next two chapters, X–XI, discuss possibilities of mixing feet, and chapter XIII discusses art verse.
11. Syllabæ Compositorum borde wäl behålla simplicium quantitatem, men det skier ei altid i Swenskan. Såsom förfara har medlersta stafwelsen lång, men fa in fara är communis. Nicander (1737:8)
12. Alla Imperfecta regularia hafwa penultimam brevem, såsom: spelade, elskade. Excipe; Irregularia såsom: Håde har penultimam communem, item läde, men des Composita longam, såsom: belåde. Nicander (1737:9)
13. The imperative forms of disyllabic and monosyllabic forms also differ: *spela, elska* vs. *far*.
14. A cause for concern could be that Nicander does not use the term ‘accent’ when he draws attention to the difference between *belade* and *förfara* vs. *lade* and *fara* although he uses the term when discussing tonal differences with cliticised words like *talen* and *galen*. One reviewer points out that *fara* in Old Swedish had a light root syllable and it was lengthened during the quantity shift. Therefore the possibility exists that the difference between *fara* and *förfara* is a difference in Old Swedish quantity. But this would not explain the difference of *lade* which comes from *lagdi* – and therefore heavy – and *belade*. As we will see later, Nicander matches the last foot and since in suffixed and cliticised words the foot includes the stressed vowel plus the suffix or clitic, he uses the term accent when he refers to the matching of such rhymes. But in derived words with unstressed prefixes, since he rhymes only the last stressed foot, he can afford to ignore the accent and does not refer to the differences between the derived and the complex word as being a question of accent differences. He only refers to them in poetic terms as COMMUNIS or LÅNG.
15. In Standard East Norwegian, for example, the indefinite plural suffix only contains a schwa [-ər] and never a full vowel, as in Central Swedish, e.g. [-ør], [-or]. As a reviewer pointed out, other Norwegian dialects have maintained the vowel contrast among old unstressed vowels as in Standard Swedish.
16. According to Elert (1970), Nicander’s proposal that segmental material and tones should be matched in end-rhymes was not generally accepted in Swedish poetry.
17. Originally this was the past participle ‘bewitched’ of the verb *gala* ‘bewitch’. The disyllabic adjective *galin* existed already in Old Swedish.
18. The plural of words like *fader* does not add a suffix but rather umlauts the vowel; we have indicated this with a hyphen with the traditional umlaut dots over it as in ‘father.PL<sup>z</sup>’.
19. Concerning mismatching rhymes like *skära<sub>2</sub> ~ förfära<sub>1</sub>*, despite the fact that Nicander points to the differences between *fära* and *förfära* in his manual (section 3.1), one reviewer has suggested an alternative explanation, namely that these verses were written before Nicander developed his strict principles for metrics, and therefore these rhymes ignored accent matching. However, Nicander wrote his poetic manual in 1737, whereas the rhymes we examined are from verses that were written later (between 1750 and 1772).

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